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ILLINOIS DELEGATES

Reports on Eleventh National Convention, S. L. P.

To the State Executive Committee of the State of Illinois.

Dear Comrades:—The work accomplished at the Eleventh National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party has already been extensively reported in the Daily and Weekly People, and will be reported more fully and completely in the official report about to be issued by the National Executive Committee. To me it remains only, therefore, to sum up my personal impressions and communicate to you as best I can what I think of value to the comrades of Illinois, of what I heard, saw and did in the East.

The convention, while smaller numerically than the previous one, had upon me, because of the vigor and determination and clear and comprehensive grasp of the situation expressed by the delegates, an inspiring influence that all the oratory of previous gatherings could never have produced. If the determination and energy displayed by the delegates is a safe barometer of the sentiment existing behind them in the eighteen States they represented, then we can safely feel that our movement has a sound foundation, and that the duty is ours to push the work of organization and agitation to the utmost.

To energetically push the agitation work, was a question most seriously considered by the convention, and it was finally left to the N. E. C. to work out detailed plans and to consider ways and means. It is to be hoped that its plans may be heartily supported by the country-at-large, and that the coming campaign, in particular, will be a vigorous one.

The trade union question was felt to be the burning one before the convention, and the healthy condition of the party upon that point made itself thoroughly felt, when, without a dissenting voice clear and uncompromising resolutions were adopted, and the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance indorsed as the only union of labor. That alone which sounded like compromise or reaction was contested and defeated, as the Milwaukee proposition to drop Section 6, Article 2, of the Constitution, or the proposed friendly resolutions towards the American Labor Union.

The constitutional amendments are all the results of wants arising from experience in some locality or another, and were, when not clearly comprehended by all, thoroughly discussed and even contested before being fostered upon the party.

The change in the composition and election of the N. E. C. deserves special notice, more particularly as personally I was an ardent supporter thereof. The evil of the old mode of electing the N. E. C. could not be properly comprehended outside of New York itself, though I have long felt that the lack of responsibility felt by the sections and State Committees throughout the country was directly responsible for many of our difficulties, and particularly, that it was due to that that the debt of the Daily People was not long ago wiped out, as well as that the local character of the N. E. C. is responsible for the many disturbances within the party. But, not only have the sections throughout the country suffered from lassitude, but New York has fairly been laid prostrate under the burden of the strain laid upon it. Realizing what that Section has had to bear, we are almost forced to worship the New York comrades as superhuman, for having stood it and remained what they are. Such worship, however well merited, is not good for the party.

Moreover by the old method of electing the N. E. C., we gave a handle to the capitalist class to get at us, we aided the fakirs and politicians in their dirty work, we gave color to the howlings of the tired and angry, against the "managing powers," and we deliberately created self-seekers who would and could consent to damage the party, and we even left an everlasting chance for doubt in the minds of even the most loyal comrades.

What does this result in? Lack of work at the centre! Intolerable lives for the members of the N. E. C., and practically the national secretary! Miserable and well-nigh impossible conditions of work for the national editor! A snap for logical centrists! A snap

for Vogts, Fiebigers, et al.
With the new N. E. C. the conditions can and must be remedied. The N. E. C. will, of course, be practically composed of delegates from the Eastern States; but every State has a chance to attend in case of a new logical outbreak, or the like; and no need will exist, in such a case, to howl for a convention, either. Let me add, however, that I hope that a State of the industrial importance of Illinois will send its delegate regularly if not alone, then in conjunction with neighboring States, such as Missouri or Wisconsin. It pays to feel responsibility! Moreover, Kangs and slanderers will soon be silenced, if they run the risk of meeting men who are posted on facts and figures as to the party and its workings and are not forced to acknowledge that New York and the party machinery is a Chinese puzzle to them.

The convention decreed that the Daily People shall live. To issue the Weekly People alone on the party plant could not be done without much waste and loss, and about as great a deficiency. And to sell the machinery would also be a loss that the convention could not tolerate. But this question, however, I for one felt the convention had but little power to settle, even though its vote was overwhelming in favor. It is up to the membership, and it alone, if our press shall live and become a power. It is not donations or the much howled about sacrifices that The People wants at this stage. It is work and much work! Five hundred per week average subs for the Weekly, I was told, would insure the plant, and certainly the members can do that if all do their duty. Much good can also be done by the distribution of leaflets, sale of pamphlets, and, particularly, by the pushing of the party's bound publications, which, practically, are in the market without a competitor.

The platform, I have no doubt, suits each and every one. It is more concise and far clearer than before, and certainly can no longer, whether justly or unjustly, be accused of "demagogism."

The nomination of our presidential ticket ought also to be, and I can almost safely say, is, a satisfaction to all, particularly, of course, in the State of Illinois, for though we are Socialists we cannot help having a little home feeling. In themselves the nominations are a ratification of the party's trade union policy. Corregan has conquered over one set of fakirs, Cox has defied another. Each belongs to a craft whose fakir-ridden organization has reached national importance.

When Cox's name was first mentioned to me, I hesitated, because it did not seem right that a man so new and little tried in the movement should be placed in such a position; but, upon second thought, what does the length of a man's connection with the movement have to do with his loyalty? One may be a member for fifty years and nothing happen to try his real manhood, another may be up against it in six months. If a man is a man he will prove so at once. If he has no backbone, the fact will reveal itself sooner or later. I verily believe, moreover, that the party has proven that it is capable to deal with all kinds of characters, and that it has well-nigh outlived the time when foolish swell-headedness was any factor whatsoever, and each and every one ought to know it. The honor that the S. L. P. can bestow on anyone is mighty insignificant unless we have the strength, bravery and determination to stand by the party in all its ups and downs, and by the working class to the bitter end of its trials. If so, future history and the veneration of posterity will recognize as strong men and pioneers in the world's grandest movement, its early standard bearers, those who stood out from their fellows when remuneration was none and when honor was turned into scorn. My sincerest hope is that the National Convention of 1904 will enjoy the honor of being the first National Convention of the S. L. P. that has been able to select two men of such common sense and sterling qualities that they will stand in future history as the first team of S. L. P. national standard bearers that remained true to the end. May Corregan and Cox be those, and we shall have double cause to congratulate our choice.

As this State stands squarely upon the party's policy, there could not be much ground for any serious differences of opinion of its delegation. However, upon one or two matters, we differed and

(Continued on page 6)

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, AUGUST 20, 1904.

WHY STRIKES ARE LOST

Let us take a condensed page of the country's history. For the sake of plainness, and forced to it by the exigency of condensation, I shall assume small figures. Place yourselves back a sufficient number of years with but ten competing weaving concerns in the community. How the individual ten owners came by the "original accumulations" that enable them to start as capitalists you now know. Say that each of the ten capitalists employs ten men; that each man receives \$2 a day, and that the product of each of the ten sets of men in each of the ten establishments is worth \$40 a day. You now also know that it is out of these \$40 worth of wealth, produced by the men, that each of the ten competing capitalists takes the \$20 that he pays the ten men in wages, and that of that same \$40 worth of wealth he takes the \$20 that he pockets as profits. Each of these ten capitalists makes, accordingly, \$120 a week.

This amount of profits, one should think, should satisfy our ten capitalists. It is a goodly sum to pocket without work. Indeed, it may satisfy some, say most of them. But if for any of many reasons it does not satisfy any one of them, the whole string of them is set in commotion. "Individuality" is a deity at whose shrine the capitalist worships, or affects to worship. In point of fact, capitalism robs of individuality, not only the working class, but capitalists themselves. The action of any one of the lot compels action by all; like a row of bricks, the dropping of one makes all the others drop successively.

Let us take No. 1. He is not satisfied with \$120 a week. Of the many reasons he may have for that, let's take this: He has a little daughter; eventually, she will be of marriageable age; whom is he planning to marry her to? Before the public, particularly before the workers, he will declaim on the "sovereignty" of our citizens, and declare the country is stocked with nothing but "peers." In his heart, though, he feels otherwise. He looks even upon his fellow capitalists as plebeians; he aspires at a Prince, a Duke, or at least a Count for a son-in-law; and in visions truly reflecting the vulgarity of his mind, he beholds himself the grandfather of Prince, Duke or Count grandnephews.

To realize this dream he must have money; Princes, etc., are expensive luxuries. His present income, \$120 a week, will not buy the luxury. He must have more. To his employees he will recommend reliance on heaven; he himself knows that if he wants more money it will not come from heaven, but must come from the sweat of his employees' brow. As all the wealth produced in his shop is \$40 a day, he knows that, if he increases his share of \$20 to \$30, there will be only \$10 left for wages. He tries this. He announces a wage reduction of 50 per cent. His men spontaneously draw themselves together and refuse to work; they go on strike. What is the situation?

In those days it needed skill, acquired by long training, to do the work; there may have been corner-loufers out of work, but not weavers; possibly at some great distance there may have been weavers actually obtainable, but in those days there was neither telegraph nor railroad to communicate with them; finally, the nine competitors of No. 1, having no strike on hand, continued to produce, and thus threatened to crowd No. 1 out of the market. Thus circumstanced, No. 1 caves in. He withdraws his order of wage reduction. "Come in," he says to his striking workmen, "let's make up; Labor and Capital are brothers; the most loving brothers sometimes fall out; we have had such a falling out; it was a slip; you have organized yourselves in a union with a \$2 a day wage scale; I shall never fight the union; I love it, come back to work." And the men did.

Thus ended that first strike. The victory won by the men made many of them feel bold. At their first next meeting they argued: "The employer wanted to reduce our wages and got left; why may not we take the hint and reduce his profits by demanding higher wages; we licked him in his attempt to lower our wages, why should we not lick him in an attempt to resist our demand for more pay?" But the labor movement is democratic. No one man can run things. At that union meeting the motion to demand higher pay is made by one member, another must second it; amendments and amendments to the amendments are put with the requisite seconds; debate follows; points of order are raised, ruled on, appealed from and settled;—in the meantime it grows late, the men must be at work early the next morning; the hour to adjourn arrives, and the whole matter is left pending. That much for the men.

Now for the employer. He looks himself up in his closet. With clenched fists and scowl on brow, he gnashes his teeth at the victory of his "brother" Labor, its union and its union regulations. And he ponders. More money he must have and is determined to have. This resolution is arrived at with the swiftness and directness which capitalists are able to. Differently from his men, he is not many, but one. He makes the motion, seconds it himself, puts it, and carries it unanimously. More profits he shall have. But how?

Aid comes to him through the mail. The letter-carrier brings him a circular from a machine shop. Such circulars are frequent even to-day. It reads like this: "Mr. No. 1, you are employing ten men; I have in my machine shop a beautiful machine with which you can produce, with 5 men, twice as much as

now with 10; this machine does not chew tobacco; it does not smoke; (some of these circulars are cruel and add:) this machine has no wife who gets sick and keeps it home to attend to her; it has no children who die, and whom to bury it must stay away from work; it never goes on strike; it works and grumbles not; come and see it!" Some may think: "Well, at least that machine capitalist is entitled to his profits; he surely is an inventor." A grave error. Look into the history of our inventors; and you will see that those who really profited by their genius are so few that you can count them on the fingers of your hands, and have fingers to spare. The capitalists either take advantage of the inventor's stress and buy his invention for a song; the inventor believes he can make his haul with his next invention; but before that is perfected, he is as poor as before, and the same advantage is again taken of him; until finally the brain of his genius being exhausted, he sinks into a pauper's grave, leaving the fruit of his genius for private capitalists to grow rich on; or the capitalist simply steals the invention and gets his courts to decide against the inventor. From Ely Whitney down, that is the treatment the inventor, as a rule, receives from the capitalist class.

Such, a case, illustrative of the whole situation, happened recently. The Bon-sack Machine Co. discovered that its employees made numerous inventions, and it decided to appropriate them wholesale. To this end, it locked out its men, and demanded of all applicants for work that they sign a contract whereby, in "consideration of employment" they assign to the Company all their rights in whatever invention they may make during the term of their employment.

One of these employees, who had signed such a contract, informed the Company one day that he thought he could invent a machine by which cigarettes could be held close by crimping at the ends, instead of pasting. This was a valuable idea; and he was told to go ahead. For six months he worked at this invention and perfected it, and having, during all that time, received not a cent in wages or otherwise from the Company, he patented his invention himself. The Company, immediately brought suit against him in Federal Courts, claiming that the invention was its property; and—The Federal Court decided in favor of the Company, thus robbing the inventor of his time, his money, of the fruit of his genius, and of his unquestionable rights!

The Screws Begin to Turn.

To return to No. 1. He goes and sees the machine; finds it to be as represented; buys it; puts it up in his shop; picks out of his 10 men the 5 least active in the late strike; sets them to work at \$2 a day as before; and full of bows and smirks, addresses the other 5 thus: "I am sorry I have no places for you; I believe in union principles and am paying the union scale to the 5 men I need; I don't need you now; good bye. I hope I'll see you again." And he means this last as you will presently perceive.

What is the situation now? No. 1 pays, as before, \$2 a day, but to only 5 men; these, with the aid of the machine, now produce twice as much as the 10 did before; their product is now \$80 worth of wealth; as only \$10 of this goes in wages, the capitalist has a profit of \$70 a day, or 250 per cent. more. He is moving fast toward his Prince, Duke or Count son-in-law.

Now watch the men whom his machine displaced; their career throws quite some light on the whole question. Are they not "American citizens"? Is not this a "Republic with a Constitution"? Is anything else wanted to get a living? Watch them! They go to No. 2 for a job; before they quite reach the place, the doors open and 5 men of that concern are likewise thrown out upon the street. What happened there? The "individuality" of No. 2 yielded to the pressure of capitalist development. The purchase of the machine by No. 1 enabled him to produce so much more plentifully and cheaply; if No. 2 did not do likewise, he would be crowded out of the market by No. 1; No. 2, accordingly, also invested in a machine with the result that 5 of his men are also thrown out.

These 10 unemployed proceed to No. 3, hoping for better luck there. But what sight is that that meets their astonished eyes? Not 5 men, as walked out of Nos. 1 and 2, but all No. 3's 10 have landed on the street; and, what is more surprising yet to them, No. 3 himself is on the street, now reduced to the condition of a workman along with his former employees.—What is it that happened there? In this instance the "individuality" of No. 3 was crushed by capitalist development. The same reason that drove No. 2 to procure the machine, rendered the machine indispensable to No. 3. But having differently from his competitors Nos. 1 and 2, spent all his stealings from the workmen instead of saving up some, he is now unable to make the purchase; is, consequently, unable to produce as cheaply as they; is, consequently, driven into bankruptcy, and lands in the class of the proletariat, whose ranks are thus increased.

The now 21 unemployed proceed in their hunt for work, and make the rounds of the other mills. The previous experiences are repeated. Not only are there no jobs to be had, but everywhere workers are thrown out; if the employer got the machine; and if he did not, workers with their former employers, now ruined, join the army of the unemployed.

What happened in that industry happened in all others. Thus the ranks of the capitalist class are thinned out, and

the class is made more powerful, while the ranks of the working class are swelled, and the class is made weaker. This is the process that explains how, on the one hand, your New Bedford mills become the property of ever fewer men; how, according to the census, their aggregate capital runs up to over \$14,000,000; how, despite "bad times," their profits run up to upwards of \$1,300,000; how, on the other hand, your position becomes steadily more precarious.

No. 1's men return to where they started from. Scabbing they will not. Uninformed upon the mechanism of capitalism, they know not what struck them; and they expect "better times,"—just as so many equally uninformed workmen are expecting to-day; in the meantime, thinking thereby to hasten the advent of the good times, No. 1's men turn out the Republican party and turn in the Democratic, turn out the Democratic and turn in the Republican—just as our misled workmen are now doing, not understanding that, whether they put in or out Republicans or Democrats, Protectionists or Free Traders, Goldbugs or Silverbugs, they are every time putting in the capitalist platform, upholding the social principle that throws them out of work or reduces their wages.

But endurance has its limits. The Superintendent of the Pennsylvania Railroad for the Indiana Division, speaking, of course, from the capitalist standpoint, recently said: "Many solutions are being offered for the labor question; but there is just one and no more. It is this: Lay a silver dollar on the shelf, and at the end of a year you have a silver dollar left; lay a workman on the shelf, and at the end of a month you have a skeleton left. This," said he, "is the solution of the labor question." In short, starve out the workers.

No. 1's men finally reached that point. Finally that happens that few if any can resist. A man may stand starvation, and resist the sight of starving wife and children; but if he has not wherewith to buy medicine to save the life of a sick wife or child, all control is lost over him. On the heels of starvation, sickness follows, and No. 1's men throw to the wind all union principles; they are now ready to do anything to save their dear ones. Cap in hand, they appear before No. 1, the starch taken clean out of them during the period they "lay on the shelf." They ask for work; they themselves offer to work for \$1 a day.

And No. 1, the brother of Labor, who but recently expressed devotion to the union, what of him? His eyes sparkle at "seeing again" the men he had thrown out; at their offer to work for less than the men now employed. His chest expands, and, grabbing them by the hand in a delirium of patriotic ecstasy, he says: "Welcome, my noble American citizens; I am proud to see you ready to work and earn an honest penny for your dear wives and darling children; I am delighted to notice that you are not, like so many others, too lazy to work; let the American eagle screech in honor of your emancipation from the slavery of a rascally union; let the American eagle wag his tail an extra wag in honor of your freedom from a dictatorial wage delegate; you are my long lost brothers; go in my \$1-a-day brothers"; and he throws his former \$2-a-day brothers heels over head upon the sidewalk.

When the late \$2-a-day men have recovered their surprise, they determine on war. But what sort of war? Watch them closely, and you may detect many a feature of your own in that mirror. "Have we not struck," argue they, "and beaten this employer once before? If we strike again, we shall again beat him." But the conditions have wholly changed. In the first place, there were no unemployed skilled workers during that first strike; now there are; plenty of them, dumped upon the country, not out of the sturgeon of vessels from Europe, but by the native-born machine.

In the second place, that very machine has to such an extent eliminated skill that, while formerly only the unemployed in a certain trade could endanger the jobs of those at work in that trade, now the unemployed of all trades (virtually the whole army of the unemployed) bear down upon the employed in each; we know of quondam shoemakers taking the jobs of weavers; quondam weavers taking the jobs of cigarmakers; quondam cigarmakers taking the jobs of "machinists"; quondam farmhands taking the jobs of factory hands, etc., etc., so easy has it become to learn what is now needed to be known of a trade.

In the third place, telegraph and railroads have made all of the unemployed easily accessible to the employer.

Finally, differently from former days, the competitors have to a great extent consolidated; here in New Bedford, for instance, the false appearance of competition between the mill owners is punctured by the fact that to a great extent seemingly "independent" mills are owned by one family, as is the case with the Pierce family.

Not, as at the first strike, with their flanks protected, but now wholly exposed through the existence of a vast army of hungry unemployed; not, as before, facing a divided enemy, but now faced by a consolidated mass of capitalist concerns; how different is not the situation of the strikers! The changed conditions brought about changed results; instead of victory, there was defeat; and we have had a long series of them. Either hunger drove the men back to work; or the unemployed took their places; or, if the capitalist was in a hurry, he fetched in the help of the strong arm of the government, now his government

Principles of Sound Organization.

We now have a sufficient survey of the field to enable us to answer the question: How shall we organize so as not to fight the same old hopeless battle?

Proceeding from the knowledge that labor alone produces all wealth; that less and less of this wealth comes to the working class, and more and more of it is plundered by the idle class or capitalist, that this is the result of the working class being stripped of the tool (machine), without which it can not earn a living; and, finally, that the machine or tool has reached such a state of development that it can no longer be operated by the individual but needs the collective effort of many;—proceeding from this knowledge, it is clear that the aim of all intelligent class-conscious workmen must be the overthrow of the system of private ownership in the tools of production because that system keeps them in wage slavery.

Proceeding from the further knowledge of the use made of the Government by the capitalist class, and of the necessity that class is under to own the Government, so as to enable it to uphold and prop up the capitalist system;—proceeding from that knowledge, it is clear that the aim of all intelligent, class-conscious workmen must be to bring the Government under the control of their own class by joining and electing the American wing of the International Socialist party—the Socialist Labor Party of America, and thus establish the Socialist Cooperative Republic.

But in the meantime, while moving toward that ideal, though necessary, goal, what to do? The thing can not be accomplished in a day, nor does election come around every twenty-four hours. Is there nothing that we can do for ourselves between election and election?

Yes; plenty. The New Trade Unionist knows that no one or two, or even half a dozen elections will place in the hands of the working class the Government of the land; and New Trade Unionism, not only wishes to do something now for the workers, but it knows that the thing can be done, and how to do it.

The increasing Socialist Labor Party vote alone would not quite give that temporary protection in the shop that such an increasing vote would afford if, in the shop also, the workers are not intelligently organized, and honestly, because intelligently, lead. Without organization in the shop, the capitalist could outrage at least individuals. Shop organization alone, unbacked by that political force that threatens the capitalist class with extinction, the working class being the overwhelming majority, leaves the workers wholly unprotected. But the shop organization that combines in its warfare the annually recurring class-conscious ballot, can stem capitalist encroachment from day to day.

The trade organization is impotent if built and conducted upon the impotent lines of ignorance and corruption. The trade organization is not impotent if built and conducted upon the lines of knowledge and honesty; if it understands the issue and steps into the arena fully equipped, not with the shield of the trade union only, but also with the sword of the Socialist ballot.

The essential principles of sound organization are, accordingly, these:

1st—A trade organization must be clear upon the fact that, not until it has overthrown the capitalist system of private ownership in the machinery of production, and made this the joint property of the people, thereby compelling everyone to work if he wants to live, is it at all possible for the workers to be safe.

2nd—A labor organization must be perfectly clear upon the fact that it can not reach safety until it has wrenched the Government from the clutches of the capitalist class; and that it can not do that unless it votes, not for men, but for principle, unless it votes into power its own class platform and programme: the abolition of the wages system of slavery.

3d—A labor organization must be perfectly clear upon the fact that policies are not, like religion, a private concern, any more than the wages and the hours of a workman are his private concern. For the same reason that his wages and hours are the concern of his class, so is his politics. Politics is not separable from wages. For the same reason that the organization of labor dictates wages, hours, etc., in the interest of the working class, for that same reason must it dictate politics also; and for the same reason that it exorcises the scab in the shop, it must exorcise the scab at the hustings.

The Work of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance.

Long did the Socialist Labor Party and New Trade Unionists seek to deliver this important message to the broad masses of the American proletariat, the rank and file of the working class. But we could not reach, we could not get at them. Between us and them there stood a solid wall of ignorant, stupid and corrupt labor fakirs. Like men groping in a dark room for an exit, we moved along that wall, bumping our heads, feeling ever onwards for a door; we made the circuit and no passage was found. The wall was solid. The discovery once made, there was no way other than to batter a breach through that wall. With the battering ram of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance we effected a passage; the wall now crumbles; at last we stand face to face with the rank and file of the American proletariat; and we are delivering our message—as you may judge from the howl that goes up from that fakirs' wall that we have broken through.

—From the pamphlet, "What Means This Strike?" by Daniel De Leon

A FAIR PRIEST

Bishop Stretch Says That Socialism Must Be Answered.

[From THE PEOPLE, organ of the S. L. P. of Australia.]

The criticism which emanated from Bishop Stretch in reference to Socialism and Socialists is about the fairest that has yet been offered by any of the Australian clericals, and in disassociating the material from the spiritual as was done in his lecture, the pre-conceived idea that the rich man is a specially divined purse-holder falls to the ground. The prevalent and altogether fallacious conception that prevailing economic conditions were pre-ordained and unalterable only through spiritual law, that is, through the supernatural power operating through the human agent, is fast disappearing, and mankind is rapidly realizing that the human economic destiny is alone shaped through the force of conscious intelligent reason and application, that man individually and collectively can alone direct the course of future material well-being.

We have it continually hurled at us that Socialists are a lot of disreputable, worthless citizens, seized with a desire to inoculate mankind with irreligious, immoral, and also base conceptions. Continually has it been charged against the Socialists that they aim at breaking up family ties, abolishing the marriage contract, communizing women, denying the right of worship; that Socialism necessarily implies infidelity. All of which has been denied and disproved time and again, still the base calumniators of Socialism and Socialists persist in perjurying themselves in their frantic efforts to blacken the characters of men and women whose only crime is that through the application of reason upon matter as it presents itself to observation, there has been established in their minds a firm conviction that the present system of social production for individual profit is entirely wrong based as it is upon the despoliation of the working class—both manual and mental. The real value, then, of the Bishop's effort is contained in the statement that

There was no necessary connection between Christianity and no necessary divorce. Socialism, it seemed to him, was best considered as a theory of political economy, and as such to be examined, verified, or contradicted by processes of observation and inductive reasoning.

Here are some statements of Bishop Stretch upon which inductive reasoning might operate to advantage:

Socialism was a theory as to what was the working unit of production, distribution and exchange, and some said consumption of commodities. There was no use getting angry with Socialism. It has its prophets, its poets, its martyrs. They were terribly in earnest, but nothing is gained in abusing them. The problems of unequal distribution were painted in lurid colors. . . . Statistics did not support the statement that the rich were getting richer and the poor poorer. As far as he could see uncertainty of unemployment was nothing new, and there were always unemployed. . . . The aggregation of capital in the hands of individuals, companies, trusts the infinite division of labor, the tendency of machinery to make the manual worker dependent and helpless, uncertainty of employment, the masses of the unemployed, the drink problem, the social evils, and the others, so many and so terrible, that it made a man's heart ache to think of them.

All of which the Bishop admits are problems to be faced, and that Socialists must be answered.

As to his first statement that Socialism was to be considered in its purely economic sense, we entirely concur. But in so far as statistics not bearing out the conviction that the rich were getting richer and the poor poorer, statistics do prove that relatively speaking, such is the case, and no parallel is to be found in the annals of history of twelve millions of human souls verging on starvation in the midst of plenty. Moreover, the Bishop's latter statement as to the growing dependency of the workers through machine production in itself backs up the contention.

Yes, the contention must be answered, and the only way that it can be correctly answered is by examination and inductive reasoning. Can these conditions be altered? We answer with an emphatic YES. How? By the working

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REPORT OF THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF AMERICA

To the International Socialist Congress

To the International Socialist Congress of Amsterdam, August 14, 1904:

Greeting—

To judge by the frequent expressions of astonishment from European sources at what they call the backwardness of the Socialist Movement in America—a backwardness which they judge wholly by votes—the conclusion is warranted that essential features of America are not given the weight that they are entitled to, or are wholly overlooked. What these features are the country's census furnishes the material to work upon, and, again, the immortal genius of Karl Marx supplies us with the principle to guide us in the selection of the requisite categories of fact and with the norm by which to gauge and analyse the material thus gathered.

In the monograph "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," the proletarian insurrection of 1848 is used as a text for the following generalization:

"Nations enjoying an older civilization, having developed class distinctions, modern conditions of production, an intellectual consciousness, wherein all traditions of old have been dissolved through the work of centuries, with such countries the republic means only the POLITICAL REVOLUTIONARY FORM OF BOURGEOIS SOCIETY not its CONSERVATIVE FORM OF EXISTENCE," and this grave fact is brought out forcibly by contrasting such a country, France, with "the United States of America, where true enough, the classes already exist, but have not yet acquired permanent character, are in constant flux and reflux, constantly changing their elements and yielding them up to one another; where the modern means of production, instead of coinciding with a stagnant population, rather compensate for the relative scarcity of heads and hands; and finally, where the feverishly youthful life of material production, which has to appropriate a new world to itself has so far left neither time nor opportunity to abolish the illusions of old."

This was written in 1852. The giant strides since made by America, her fabulous production of wealth, rise in manufacture and agriculture that practically place her at the head of all other nations in this respect, in short, the stupendous stage of capitalist development that the country has reached, would seem to remove the contrast. It does not. These changes are not enough to draw conclusions as to the stage of Socialism that may be expected. The above

passages from Marx explain why, and they indicate what other factors need consideration before a bourgeois republic has left behind it its "conservative form of existence" and entered upon that "political revolutionary" stage of its life, without which a Socialist Movement can not be expected to gain its steageway. These factors—the "permanent character" and, therefore, "intellectual consciousness" of the classes, due to the "traditions of old having been dissolved through the work of centuries"; the maturity of life of material production which, no longer having "to appropriate a new world to itself," has the requisite time and opportunity "to abolish the illusions of old," etc.—also require consideration and their status ascertained. They are essential to a final and intelligent conclusion. A rough and rapid sketch of the facts that throw light upon these factors will clarify the situation.

Since the census facts of 1850 on which Marx drew, the continental area of the United States has been widened by not less than 1,057,441 square miles, or not far from doubled what it was in 1850; as a result, the center of population, which in 1850 was at 81 deg. 19 min. longitude, or 23 miles southwest of Parkersburg in the present State of West Virginia, has since shifted westward fully four degrees of longitude, and now lies six miles west of Columbus, Ind.; and as a further or accompanying result, the center of manufacture which in 1850 lay at 77 deg. 25 min. longitude, near Mifflintown, Pa., has since steadily traveled westward until it has to-day reached 82 deg. 12 min. longitude near Mansfield in central Ohio. Nor has the westward move stopped. One more fact of importance along this line of inquiry will suffice to aid in forming an idea of the meteorologic lay of social conditions, so to speak. While as late as 1880, thirty years after Marx' monograph, the census returned 55,404 water wheels and no electric motors, ten years later the water wheels had fallen to 39,008 and the electric motors, starting then, have since risen to 16,923 and steam power in proportion. The situation, brought about by these facts, may be summed up by the light of the quaint report that played-out locomotive engines, which once did service on our city elevated roads and have been discarded for electric motors, now are drawing trains on the railroads in China! Machinery and method of production, discarded in 1893 advanced centers, are constantly reappearing in less advanced localities, carried thither by the flux of our population westward. It goes without saying, that under such conditions, not only is the population still not "stagnant," not only is there still a "constant flux and reflux," not only is there still a "constant changing" or "yielding up to one another" by the classes, but that still the odd phenomenon is visible in America of families with members in all the classes, from the upper and plutocratic class, down through the various gradations of the middle class, down to the "house-and-lot"-owning wage slave in the shop, and even further down to the wholly propertyless proletariat. It goes without saying that, under such conditions, there still is in America that "feverishly youthful life of material production" and that, accordingly, "the illusions of old" have not yet had time to be wiped out. Nor has the immigration from Europe aided matters. On the whole it has fallen in with the stream as it flows. It is, for instance, a conservative estimate that if one-half the Europeans, now located in Greater New York and who in their old homes pronounced themselves Socialists, remained so here, the Socialist organization in the city alone would have not less than 25,000 enrolled members. Yet there is no such membership or anything like it. The natives' old illusions regarding material prospects draw the bulk of the immigrants into its vortex.

It goes without saying that such conditions point to the existing bourgeois republic of America as still traveling in the orbit that Marx observed it in during 1852,—at the CONSERVATIVE and not yet the POLITICAL REVOLUTIONARY form of its existence. In short, these conditions explain why, as yet, despite the stupendous development of capitalism in the country, a numerically powerful Socialist Labor Party, such as such a capitalist development might at first blush mislead the casual observer into expecting, does not and can not yet exist. Incidentally, these conditions throw valuable light upon the nature of the "revolutionary movements" that periodically spring up, whose discordant waves angrily beat against the Socialist Labor Party, and whose mouthpieces makes so much noise—abroad. It explains, for instance, the flaring up of the Single Tax Movement with its 300,000 votes in the eighties; it explains the Populist Movement of a decade later, in the nineties, with its 1,200,000 votes; it explains the latest of the serial in direct line of succession, the so-called Socialist or Social Democratic Movement of this decade with its 250,000 votes. The first two have already passed away, and the latter—after adopting a "revisionist" platform and a trades union resolution, which its own dele-

gate to this international congress, Mr. Ernst Untermyer, admits in the "Neue Zeit" of last May 28th, to be "a covert endorsement of the American Federation of Labor, which meant nothing else than a thrust at the American Labor Union, which had seceded from the former organization in order to EMANCIPATE ITSELF FROM THE DOMINATION OF THE REACTIONISTS AND HANDMAIDS OF THE CAPITALISTS," and which, with stronger emphasis, the "American Labor Union Journal" of May 26th, a hitherto upholder of the said so-called Socialist party, deliberately brands as "COMMITTING THE PARTY TO SCAB-HERDING"—may be said to have fairly entered upon the period of its dissolution. Each of these movements successively set itself up as the AMERICAN Socialist Movement and waged violent war against the Socialist Labor Party during their flickering existence, and then—dragged down and throttled by the umbilical cord of the illusions that are born from the conditions in the land sketched above—after living their noisy day, regularly and fatedly entered upon their period of dissolution,—never, however, without regularly leaving behind a more or less solid sediment for the Socialist Labor Party, whom, on the other hand, and as regularly, during the period of their rise and growth, they cleansed, by drawing to themselves, of unfit and unripe elements that, in the intervals, had gravitated towards the S. L. P. Thus, since its inceptive vote of 13,387 in

*The passage in the above article of the "American Labor Union Journal" is worth reproducing in full in that it illuminates a grossly erroneous and unbecomingly petty and maliciously distorted view of the "American Socialist" movements which periodically rise against the Socialist Labor Party. This is the passage: "The men who spoke in support of the resolution (the substitute) from Ben. Hanford to Hinkley did not attempt to reply to these charges. They kept the meeting constant repetition of the charges that those who opposed the resolution are opposed to trades unions, which was a thousand miles from the truth. The facts being that the opposition was not to trades union endorsement, but to the kind of trades unionism it was sought to induce AS IT STANDS THE SOCIALIST PARTY AS COMMITTED TO SCAB-HERDING organization of dual unions, misleading of the working class, the expenditure of union funds to defeat Socialist candidates, the segregation of the working class into craft units which are powerless to accomplish anything AND IT HAS BEEN COMMITTED TO THIS EXTREMELY BELIEVED AND UNBROKEN, BUT ARE AFTER AN ORGANIZER'S COMMISSION IN FAKEDOM. They have no PAPERS TO PEDDLE IN FAKEDOM"—in short, the umbilical cord of the private and guild interests of that eastern and dominant element of the so-called Socialist, alias Social Democratic, party is of a nature that must inevitably beget the working class, and consequently, throttle the said party as its lineal ancestors did.

The Socialist Labor Party's vote was: A. Thomson, 25,976; J. O. Moroney, 25,924; F. H. Drake, 17,870; and after making deductions it is safe to assert that fully 8,000 of the votes polled by our lowest candidate were those of convinced Socialists. The Capitalist Class nominees polled: First, 192,987; second, 191,170; third, 188,880; so that we forfeited our \$75 deposit. The Australian Socialist League owns and issues weekly a four-page newspaper, "The People," which is the only Socialist paper published in the Australian Commonwealth. In the other Australian States there exist organizations more or less socialistic, under such names as International Socialist, Vanguard, Fellowship, and Social-Democratic clubs. None of them take definite political action, being mere adherents of the existing Parliamentary Labor Parties of the different States, who endeavor not to overthrow the capitalist system, but to make such system bearable, being destitute of any revolutionary aim. In Australia, notwithstanding what newspaper men and others have written about the socialistic nature of the laws, there IS NO SOCIALISM. We are faced with exactly the same economic conditions as obtain in all capitalist

1890, the first year of its real existence, the vote record of the Socialist Labor Party, during the following presidential or national campaign years, presents the following table:

In 1892—21,157 votes;
In 1896—36,564 votes;
In 1900—34,191 votes.

In 1902, not a presidential year but the nearest so far approach thereto through State elections, the vote again rose to 53,763. If proper weight is given to the social conditions sketched above, another circumstance of much weight will transpire—the circumstance that in America, the small vote of a bona fide Socialist organization is no criterion of its strength, of the work it does, or of the Socialist sentiment in the land; in short, it is no criterion of the proximity or distance of the crowning event, of the dethronement of the capitalist class. In America capitalist morality has invaded the hustings. The chicanery practised by the ruling class in the factory, the retail shop or their legalized gambling dens, known as "stock exchanges," has been introduced by them into the electoral field, and there sways supreme. The laws they have enacted to keep their respective parties from cheating each other would furnish a living Montesquieu with a matchless theme for a matchless chapter on "The Spirit of Legislation." Of course, the spirit of these anti-fraud election laws directly warrents the contending parties of the ruling class to ignore, aye, to violate them against a bona fide party of Socialism. The unseating of a Congressman for fraudulent election practices is not unknown, but it is never practiced except by the majority against the minority party when the former needs the seat. Such a thing as the unseating of a capitalist class member of the Reichstag for fraud and ordering a new election at which a Socialist candidate is elected, as has happened in Germany; or the unseating, for similar reasons, of a Count Boni de Castellane, the shaver, through marriage, of our American capitalist Jay Gould's millions, as recently happened in France, strikes our American capitalists, and all others who are swayed by their modes of thought, as incomprehensibly silly. They understand it as little as Western people understand the sentiment of a Japanese soldier to rather die than surrender to the Russians. What that means to a vote that really threatens the ruling class is obvious. Obvious, consequently, is the fact that the day of the Socialist vote is not yet. The capitalist corruptionists thwart to-day the fiat of the ballot. But monkeying with the thermometer never yet affected the temperature.

*The rank and file have no axes to grind. They have no indictment to CRAWL LIKE WHIPPED CURS AT THE FOOT OF A NATIONAL LABOR FAKIR. The rank and file are not SEEKING PREFERENCE in pure and simple bodies. They are not SEEKING A DELEGATESHIP ABOARD, nor are they after AN ORGANIZER'S COMMISSION IN FAKEDOM. They have no PAPERS TO PEDDLE IN FAKEDOM"—in short, the umbilical cord of the private and guild interests of that eastern and dominant element of the so-called Socialist, alias Social Democratic, party is of a nature that must inevitably beget the working class, and consequently, throttle the said party as its lineal ancestors did.

countries. Thousands lack employment, and poverty with its attendant misery and degradation is always with us. In most of the Australian States the railways, and in some the tramways, are owned and managed by the government on strictly commercial principles. In other directions the State has extended its functions and employs labor direct. But the worker remains in Australia, whether employed by the State government or the individual private employer, an exploited wage slave, as is his exploited fellow wage slave in other countries. In conclusion, the appended manifesto sets out clearly our economic, industrial and political attitude. For years to come our primary work must be the making of Socialists, and, isolated as we are, to some extent we must carry on that work in our own way. In other words, we must "develop the capacity to abolish Australian Capitalism," aided by the experience of our comrades in other countries when that experience fits Australian industrial, economic and political conditions. On behalf of the General Executive Committee, JAMES O. MORONEY, General Secretary, May 14, 1904.

Accordingly, the criterion of the seaworthiness of a Socialist Movement in the waters of American conditions is the character of its agitation, educational, and organizing propaganda; the quantity and quality of the literature it soaks the country with; the strictness of its self-imposed discipline; the firmness and intrepidity of its posture. The Socialist Labor Party has for now four years published the only Socialist daily paper in the English-speaking world—the Daily People; for the last thirteen years it has published a weekly—the Weekly People. These, besides the vast literature that it publishes through its press—much of it original, much of it translations of the best that the revolutionary movements in other languages have produced—are standard in the English-speaking movement. They breathe the uncompromising spirit that American conditions render imperative to a Socialist Movement unless it is ready either to render itself ridiculous, or to betray the working class with revisionist flap-doodleism. Accordingly, the Socialist Labor Party never withholds a blow at Wrong lest it make an enemy, or lose a friend. It yields to no lures. If, in other countries conditions allow, or, perchance, require a different course, not so here: the Socialist Labor Party of America hews close to the line. In its war upon the capitalist class, the Party allows not itself to be used as a prop for that class: whether the capitalist formation appear in the shape of a Trust, or in that of a revamped bourgeois guild, sailing under the false colors of "Trades Unionism," the Party ruthlessly exposes both—IT EXPOSES BOTH—even though workmen may hold stock in the former, the Trust, as the so-called Trades Union of the Amalgamated Iron and Steel Workers do in Carnegie's United States Steel Corporation; and even if it be workmen who constitute the rank and file of the revamped bourgeois guilds sailing under the flag of Trades Unionism, and thereby keep the working class divided by the Chinese Walls of prohibitive high dues and initiation fees, or other guild practices, as many so-called Trades Unions do. The unflinching attitude imposed upon a bona fide party of Socialism in America is incomprehensible to the successive waves of alleged revolutionary movements and American reformers generally, who with the tenacity of a disease turn up and turn down on the country's political stage. Being incomprehensible to them, the Socialist Labor Party is the object of their violent animosity, and is

successively pronounced dead by them,—on paper. The Socialists of Europe will understand this phenomenon when they are told that the identical epithets which the Mille-rand-Jaures revisionists of France bestow upon the Parti Socialiste de France (U. S. R.)—"ill-natured," "narrow," "intolerant," etc., etc.—have been and continue to be bestowed with monotonous regularity by these American "revisionists" upon the Socialist Labor Party. It is this "ill-nature," "narrowness," "intolerance," etc., that is urging on the day of the dethronement of the American capitalist class. At the time of the McKinley assassination in 1901, for instance, when the capitalist class tried to profit by the event to root up all impulse towards its overthrow, all voices with one exception, that had at all seemed in opposition to class rule, were silenced, they dared not utter themselves. That solitary exception was the voice of the Socialist Labor Party. Scores of its speakers were arrested and otherwise persecuted, yet they held their ground and triumphed over the attempt to throttle the voice of the proletariat. Capitalist development, in America is now rapidly overtaking and overcoming the obstacles that Marx enumerated for the conservative form of the American bourgeois republic to enter upon its political revolutionary form. Things are ripening rapidly. When the day of the vote shall have arrived for the Socialist Movement of America that vote will be counted—or the men whom the Socialist Labor Party is gathering and drilling WILL KNOW THE REASON WHY. The backwardness of the Socialist Movement in America is on the surface only. Whatever the thermometer of the Socialist vote, monkeyed with by capitalist corruption, may register, the temperature is rising.

The S. L. P. platform demands—and the Party's every act is in strict accordance with the demand—the unconditional surrender of the capitalist class; and the Party is guided exclusively by the Polar Star of the principle that the emancipation of the working class must be the work of the working class itself. The Party takes nothing less because it knows that anything less means Revisionism.

DANIEL DE LEON, Delegate of the Socialist Labor Party of the United States of America. New York, July 15, 1904. By order of the National Executive Committee, S. L. P. Henry Kuhn, National Secretary.

REPORT OF THE AUSTRALIAN SOCIALIST LEAGUE

To the International Socialist Congress.

AUSTRALIAN SOCIALIST LEAGUE. GENERAL EXECUTIVE HEAD-QUARTERS. 251 Castlereagh St., Sydney.

To the International Socialists, In Congress Assembled.

Comrades:—We, members of the Australian Socialist League, located in the City of Sydney, State of New South Wales, Australia, being unable on account of distance and lack of funds to send delegates to the Congress, forward by letter greetings to all organized Socialists in Congress met, and a brief history and statement of the Socialist Movement here as we see and know it since Congress last met.

The Australian Socialist League is the only political organization—with its party, the Socialist Labor Party—standing definitely for uncompromising Socialism, having within the last three years contested two Federal and one State election, and, at time of writing, preparing for a coming State election.

In 1901 the first elections under the Federal constitution were held, and under the constitution the States were one electorate, each returning to the Senate six Senators, and it being mandatory for each voter to record a vote for six of the candidates or his vote would be informal. The League placed six

candidates in the field with the following result: A. Thomson, 5,823; J. O. Moroney, 4,257; H. E. Holland, 4,771; J. Neill, 5,952; J. J. Monish, 3,109; T. Melling, 3,495.

The State of New South Wales was, until 1904, divided into 125 electorates, each elector returning one member to its State Parliament. The League contested five electorates with this result: J. Neill, 30; A. Thomson, 24; H. E. Holland, 33; J. Monish, 58; J. O. Moroney, 189.

In December of last year—1903—the Federal elections took place and the League placed three candidates in the field for the Senate, the conditions being similar, the State one electorate, and mandatory on the part of the voter to record his or her vote for three of the candidates to render his or her vote formal.

But the first Federal had passed an electoral act which contained a penalising clause compelling each candidate to deposit with his or her nomination paper a sum of £25 to be forfeited in the event of the candidate not polling one-fifth of the votes polled by the lowest successful candidate. This to us meant a fine of £75 for placing our candidates in the field to uphold Socialist principles.

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The Australian Socialist League owns and issues weekly a four-page newspaper, "The People," which is the only Socialist paper published in the Australian Commonwealth.

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In Australia, notwithstanding what newspaper men and others have written about the socialistic nature of the laws, there IS NO SOCIALISM. We are faced with exactly the same economic conditions as obtain in all capitalist

countries. Thousands lack employment, and poverty with its attendant misery and degradation is always with us.

In most of the Australian States the railways, and in some the tramways, are owned and managed by the government on strictly commercial principles. In other directions the State has extended its functions and employs labor direct. But the worker remains in Australia, whether employed by the State government or the individual private employer, an exploited wage slave, as is his exploited fellow wage slave in other countries.

In conclusion, the appended manifesto sets out clearly our economic, industrial and political attitude. For years to come our primary work must be the making of Socialists, and, isolated as we are, to some extent we must carry on that work in our own way. In other words, we must "develop the capacity to abolish Australian Capitalism," aided by the experience of our comrades in other countries when that experience fits Australian industrial, economic and political conditions.

On behalf of the General Executive Committee, JAMES O. MORONEY, General Secretary, May 14, 1904.

MANIFESTO OF THE AUSTRALIAN SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

To the mental and manual Working Class and all other honest Citizens of the Australian Commonwealth, we Socialists ask you to organize with us in the Australian Socialist League, because we are face to face with conditions that require the united action of our class at the ballot box. It is to point out those conditions that we have prepared this Manifesto, and we hope that every member of the Working Class into whose hands it may fall read it carefully. For it is only by careful reading and close investigation that we (the Working Class) can learn the cause of our industrial and economic enslavement and how to free ourselves.

THE PRESENT FORM OF SOCIETY. The present form of Society rests on ownership of the land and the tools of production.

The owners of most of the land and the tools of production constitute what are economically known as the Capitalist Class. Hence the use of the term: The Capitalist form of Society.

TWO CLASSES IN THE AUSTRALIAN COMMONWEALTH. Ownership divides Society in the Aus-

tralian Commonwealth as in all capitalist countries into two distinct classes.

One is the class of Employers, and the other is the class of Wagerworkers. The employers are the Capitalist Class; and the Wagerworkers are the Working Class.

THE WORKING CLASS SUSTAIN SOCIETY.

While the Working Class, by their labor, produce to-day—as in the past—the wealth that sustains Society, they lack economic and industrial security, suffer from overwork, enforced idleness, and their attendant miseries, all of which are due to the present Capitalist form of Society.

THE CAPITALIST CLASS.

The Capitalist Class, through the ownership of most of the land and the tools of production—which are necessary for the production of food, clothing, shelter and fuel—hold the Working Class in complete economic and industrial subjection, and thus live on the labor of the Working Class.

THE WORKING CLASS

The Working Class in order to secure food, clothing, shelter and fuel, must sell their labor-power to the owning Capital-

ist Class—that is to say, they must work for the Capitalist Class. The Working Class do all the useful work of Society, they are the producers of all the wealth of the world, while the Capitalist Class are the exploiters who live on the wealth produced by the Working Class.

CLASS INTERESTS.

As the Capitalist Class live out of the product of the Working Class, the interest of the Working Class is diametrically opposed to the interest of the Capitalist Class. The Capitalist Class—owning as they do, most of the land and the tools of production—employ the Working Class, buy their labor-power, and return to them in the form of wages, only part of the wealth they have produced. The rest of the wealth produced by the Working Class the Capitalist Class keep; it constitutes their profit—i. e., rent, interest, and dividends.

Thus the Working Class produce their own wages as well as the profits of the Capitalist Class. In other words, the Working Class work a part only of each day to produce their wages, and the rest of the day to produce surplus (profits) for the owning Capitalist Class.

The interest of the Capitalist Class is

(Continued on page 3.)

REPORT OF THE AUSTRALIAN
SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

(Continued from page 2.)

to get all the surplus (profits) possible out of the labor of the Working Class. The interest of the Working Class is to get the full product of their labor.

THE CLASS STRUGGLE.

Hence there is a struggle between these two classes. This struggle is called the "Class Struggle." It is a struggle between the owning Capitalist Class—which must continue to exploit the Working Class in order to live—and the non-owning Working Class, who, in order to live must work for the owners of the land and the tools of production. To win Economic Freedom the non-owning Working Class must force this struggle into the political field and use their political power (the ballot) to abolish Capitalist Class ownership, and thus revolutionize in the interests of the Working Class the entire structure of Industrial Society.

THE USE OF POLITICAL POWER.

The Capitalist Class who own most of the land and the tools of production, own the Government and govern the Working Class, not for the well-being of the Working Class but for the well-being and profit of the Capitalist Class.

It is only by using their political power that the Capitalist Class make their exploitation of the Working Class legal and the oppression of their system constitutional. And it is only by using their political power that the Working Class can make their own exploitation illegal and their own oppression unconstitutional. It is only by the use of their political power that the Working Class can abolish Capitalist Class rule and privilege, and establish a planful form of Society based on the Collective Ownership of all the land and the tools of production, in which equal industrial right shall be the share of all.

THE MIDDLE CLASS.

There exists between the Capitalist Class and the Working Class a number of small farmers, small manufacturers, small storekeepers, and self-employed workers, who together constitute what is called the Middle Class; all of whom do business on a small scale, generally with out-of-date machinery, or no machinery, and who are therefore unable to compete with the Capitalist Class whose gigantic factories, farms, and shops are equipped with the best labor- and wage-saving machinery, which lowers the cost of their production and thus forces the small Middle Class outside the margin of profit. The Capitalist Class system of concentration in Company, Syndicate, Combine, and Trust absorbs a few of the small Middle Class, but thrusts by far the greater part of them into the ranks of the Wage-working Class, to there intensify the existing struggle. As a class, the Middle Class are being annihilated by the evolution of the Capitalist System.

THE FUTURE.

We, Socialists, organized in the Australian Socialist League declare, that to the Working Class belong the future. Organized in the political party of the League—the Socialist Labor Party—the Working Class (and all other honest persons in the Commonwealth) can, through the ballot box, abolish the Capitalist System of Ownership with its accompanying Class Rule and Class Oppression, and establish in its place Socialism—an Industrial Democracy—wherein all the land and the tools of production shall be the Collective property of the whole people, to be operated by the whole people for the production of commodities for use and not for profit. We ask the Working Class of the Australian Commonwealth to organize with us and the Socialist forces of the world to end the domination of Private Ownership—with its poverty-breeding system of planless production—and substitute in its place the Socialist Co-operative Commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his or her faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.

The following is the Australian Socialist Labor Party's full Ticket for the Senate:

DRAKE, F. H.
MORONEY, J. O.
THOMSON, A.

If you believe in Socialism VOTE the FULL Ticket.

Presented to the International Socialist Congress of Amsterdam, August 14, 1904, by the delegate of the Socialist Labor Party of the United States of America, with credentials from the Australian Socialist League empowering him to act in its behalf.

DANIEL DE LEON,
Delegate of the Socialist Labor Party of the United States of America.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY AGITATION

INDIANA STATE CAMPAIGN
OPENED.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Comrades Jacob Loven, Jos. B. and E. J. Dillon, our candidate for Governor, left Marion last Wednesday in a wagon, with a camping outfit, to open the campaign for the Socialist Labor Party. They visited Peru, Rochester and Argos, made short speeches and distributed literature.

They were due at Claypool Saturday evening, but failed to arrive in time to make a speech as had been announced. Quite a good audience had gathered to listen. Thereupon some Democrats began to yell: "Bluff, bluff! We knew he wouldn't come. You only tried to ring a bluff on us," etc.

On Sunday afternoon the comrades drove into town. On each side of the wagon was a muslin banner, on which was painted, in red, an arm and hammer and the words "Socialist Labor Party. Vote under this emblem." On Monday morning another sign was attached to the wagon—"Speaking tonight"—and hauled around town. The wagon was finally left at the place of speaking.

In the evening a good audience had gathered around the wagon. The writer mounted the platform, gave a short introductory speech in which he invited questions at the close of Comrade Dillon's speech, also offering the platform to any one who might want to criticize, and asked the audience if they extended like privileges at other political meetings.

Comrade Dillon was then introduced and took the platform. He spoke for an hour, and called for questions, but not a whisper was heard from any of the smart Democratic alecks. The bluff was off and they acted like rats that had heard a trap snap.

On Tuesday the comrades drove to Warsaw, repeated the advertising and, although there was a large tent show in the city that day and evening, a large audience gathered around the wagon, and the first Socialist Labor Party meeting was opened in Warsaw. Comrade Dillon spoke for over an hour, then answered a number of questions, one of which was "the difference." The comrade in answer took a bunch of Kangaroos and fakirs by the top-knot and held them up to the audience, exposing some of their tricks.

After being in session nearly three hours, the meeting adjourned. The fruits of its success will appear later on.

O. P. Stoner.

Claypool, Ind., August 9.

LOUISVILLE'S ROUSING CAMPAIGN
OPENING.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—The Socialist Labor Party of Louisville opened the campaign last Saturday night with a rousing meeting at the corner of Third and Jefferson streets. It is no exaggeration to say that never in the history of the movement here was ever our campaign opened more auspiciously, both as to the size of the crowd or the interest and enthusiasm displayed. Yet the most important and significant item was the sale of pamphlets which proved to be a record-breaker for Louisville, eighteen copies of "Behind the Scenes" being disposed of with very little effort.

Comrade Doyle was the first speaker. He sailed into the labor fakirs and the "Socialist" party fakirs in fine style, showing up their duplicity and treachery to the working class. He also gave hard knocks to Bryan and the so-called "radical" (1) elements in the Democratic party, stating that this element had now shared the same fate that the Populists shared at the hands of the capitalist gold-bug Democracy.

Comrade Schmutz was the next speaker. On taking the platform he announced the books for sale, calling special attention to the signatures of Governor Peabody and General Bell. The comrade then dwelt on the local "moral wave" which was manifesting itself, owing to the crimes that had recently become so numerous in this community, seemingly with the knowledge and the sanction of the present corrupt city clique. All concerned came in for a fearful arraignment by the comrade, he taking the stand that this was only the old cry of stop thief over again, to hide old thieves and rascals.

The speaker challenged the ministers to show reason why they are not equally as immoral as the men they attacked, seeing that they remained silent as the grave about the immoral system of wage slavery which daily murders men, women and children of the working class.

"The working class, in its aspirations and its noble mission, is the only moral force yet remaining," declared the speaker, "for it alone could remove all immorality now existing by wiping out the damnable system that breeds these hotbeds of corruption and vice."

Furthermore, the speaker showed so-called "morals" to be changeable and shifting things and not fixed and unalterable matters. The history of Amer-

ican chattel slavery was used to good purpose to prove this contention.

After calling attention to the party press, particularly the ownership, the meeting was adjourned until next Saturday. Besides the pamphlets that were sold, 250 Peoples containing "The Burning Question" were distributed and equally as many platforms.

The attendance of the comrades present was a good improvement over last year. Now it behooves us to keep right at it good and hard to the close of the campaign just to show the S. L. P. snakes' tail can still "wriggle."

Fraternally,

Press Committee, S. L. P.,
Section Louisville.

Louisville, Ky., August 9.

THE WORKING CLASS AROUSED.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—As the campaign of 1904 moves on towards its close, the stock of the S. L. P. rises higher and higher. All over the State the workers are awakening and 'tis our duty to show them the way out of the present system. I was in Worcester Sunday, August 7, and held two splendid meetings, one in the afternoon and another in the evening. At these meetings five subscribers for the Weekly People were secured, and many workmen promised to subscribe "next week, I have no money to-day"—respectfully referred to Col. Carroll D. Wright, who proves the prosperity of the working class by citing that nutmegs have decreased in price since—well sometime.

Despite the religious side shows of capitalism, which were in full swing, we had the call, and for over four hours on Sunday afternoon and evening the Worcester workmen listened to the story of the Socialist Labor Party, not about the "Sweet, Bye and Bye," but about "Sweet now and now."

At the evening meeting, which was the largest of the two, we answered the questions as to "What is the Difference," by distributing hundreds of copies of that celebrated leaflet of the same name, which is the best Kang killer extant.

From Worcester I went to Moosup, Conn., and spoke there Monday evening. This event will long be to the Moosupites what the "Big Wind" is to the Sons of "Auld Erin," and for more reasons than one. Moosup is one of those slave pen towns that you find all over the land, especially in New England. It is a textile town and a good place to go from. As one lands in the ballwick he is reminded of a Pennsylvania mining town where all the pleasure one can get is to go down to the railroad crossing to watch the trains go by, and when he gets tired go to bed. In Moosup they vary it a bit by working for the American Woolen Company, our old friend, Wood's corporation. So this meeting was a much welcomed diversion to the Moosupites, who turned out in force to the tune of 400 or more, while we told them the story of the S. L. P., and the why and wherefore of the capitalist system and its upholders.

Tradition has it that the "oldest inhabitant" cannot remember that a Moosupite even before asked a question of any of the S. L. P. speakers who have held forth in that burg: even the persuasive Syracuse printer, now the S. L. P. candidate for president, could not get them to ask questions of him when he spoke in this end of New England "plebels."

But time and capitalism force men to move, even in Moosup, and on this occasion questions were asked. They were answered to the great relief of the audience.

One sub was secured for the Weekly People and the meeting adjourned.

Michael T. Berry.

Lynn, Mass., August 10.

ROANOKE, VA., AGITATION.

To the Daily and Weekly People: An open air meeting was held at the corner of Campbell avenue and Nelson street, at 8 o'clock p. m., Aug. 6th. The writer acted as chairman. We introduced Comrade B. D. Downey, as the speaker of the evening. The way he went after the Democrats and Republican bourgeoisie would be a credit to snake killers. He handled the social question most magnificently. There were about 180 men listening attentively all through. Next, Comrade Edward Smith (literary agent) spoke in behalf of our literature as a means of education in Socialist economics.

We then announced a meeting for Aug. 13th, 4 p. m.

No one presumed to dispute any point or ask any question, although they were repeatedly offered the opportunity. 27 copies of The Burning Question of Trades Unionism were sold. Under the circumstances it was a very successful meeting.

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Comrade Hugh McTier will speak next Saturday afternoon.

E. R. Spencer.

Roanoke, Va., Aug. 8

S. L. P. ORGANIZATION AFFECT-
ED IN TARRYTOWN.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—I spoke in Tarrytown on Monday night, before a fair-sized audience. Sold five "What Means This Strike?", four in English, one in Italian. Seven names were secured, and, at a private meeting afterwards, I organized the persons bearing them into a branch of Section Westchester County. Officers pro tem. were elected and a plan of agitation agreed on. The Westchester County Committee was notified and initiation fee was forwarded. A workman who belongs to the militia wanted to join; but as we regard militiamen as inimical to working class interests, he was not accepted. He, however, understands the situation, and donated his initiation fee.

I am now in Nyack, will be in Ossining to-morrow, Pleasantville Thursday, and Poughkeepsie Friday, where I hope to either form a section or lay the foundations for one.

Henry Jager.

Nyack, N. Y., August 9.

YONKERS' SUCCESSFUL MEETINGS.

To the Daily and Weekly People: On Saturday evening, July 30, we held a very successful meeting on Getty's Square. The writer was chairman of the meeting, which was opened with an explanation of the aims and objects of the Socialist Labor Party, after which the speaker of the evening, Comrade Patrick Walsh, of New York, was introduced.

Comrade Walsh started at once to expose the Salvation Army, which endeavored to hold a meeting right in front of us, and in a few minutes, he succeeded in attracting an audience of 400 persons. He kept them there for the rest of the evening, to the dismay of the Salvationists.

We gave away a big lot of literature, and sold 12 pamphlets.

I closed the meeting with an appeal to those present to come and join us, and take hold of the work of emancipating our class.

On August 4, we held another successful meeting with Comrade J. Vaughn, as the speaker. I had to act again as chairman. As before I stated the aims and objects of the party, laying stress on the attitude towards pure and simple unions.

Comrade Vaughn spoke to about 300 persons, all of whom were interested to the very close in his presentation of the labor question from the Socialist standpoint.

We again gave out a lot of leaflets, and sold 17 pamphlets. I also made an appeal to those present to join the S. L. P. and the S. T. and L. A.

Fraternally,

Peter Jacobson.
Yonkers, N. Y., Aug. 8.

"THAT'S THE STUFF."

To the Daily and Weekly People:—I have spoken at Ballston and Sandy Hill. Both places did not show up well. Sold a few books and secured one subscription for the Weekly People, besides the names of three sympathetic voters.

I go to Fort Edwards to-day, and to-morrow I go to Glen Falls. I was over there Sunday, and it impressed me as a good place for agitation.

The comrades from Troy are supplying me with leaflets, and I have worked the factories in great style with them. Very few throw them on the street, but almost all, after glancing through them, fold them up and place them in their pockets with the remark: "That's the stuff."

When I return to Sandy Hill next week, I expect to get one or two members-at-large.

I enclose clipping from the local press, the "News." Fraternally,

W. H. Carroll.

Sandy Hill, N. Y., August 9.

[Enclosure.]

SOCIALIST IS THE "FIRST GUN."

Political Campaign Locally Started With Open Air Meeting

The campaign locally began Saturday night, when there was speech-making in the street by the park at the junction of Main and River streets. It was not Parker nor Roosevelt who was commended, but both were attacked by the speaker. Interruptions from the sidewalk were many, and at one time there was a chance of a mixup between two belligerents. The following report of the meeting is contributed:

"William H. Carroll of Boston held an open-air meeting at Main and River streets Saturday evening in the interest of the Socialist Labor Party. Mr. Carroll is making a tour of the State under the direction of the New York State Committee of his party, holding street meetings and soliciting subscriptions for their party press. He also distributes leaflets free to those who desire to study the question of Socialism. Mr. Carroll is an aggressive speaker and does not

hesitate to make known his views on economic and political issues. He holds that the working people are industrial slaves, 'wage slaves' as he terms it, and that there is but one remedy, and that is by the working class marching to the ballot box as a class, and after capturing the powers of government, declaring that the land and machinery of production is the collective property of the nation; to be operated for the benefit of the whole people, instead of as to-day being operated with the sole view of making profits for the capitalist class. Both republicans and Democrats and all other parties, except the Socialist Labor Party, were condemned as enemies of the working class. Mr. Carroll will speak this evening at the same place."

NYACK EDITOR RUNS UP AGAINST
THE BUZZ SAW.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—I was in Nyack, N. Y., on Tuesday, and held a very large meeting there, securing one sub to the Weekly People and one application for membership-at-large. There are about nine men here whom I think can be organized into a Socialist Labor Party auxiliary club.

The McKinley assassination had a bad effect on the S. L. P. here, as it was confounded with Anarchism, as a result. I made clear the antagonistic differences between Socialism and Anarchism.

The editor of the local paper "The Star," put a number of questions to me, which were answered to the satisfaction of the audience. Then I turned the tables on him, asked him some questions and compelled him to admit the capitalists rob the workers. He was laughed at by the audience.

A few pamphlets were also sold.

Next day I spoke in Ossining to an audience of about 200, but was compelled to stop by the rain. Sold fourteen pamphlets, however, one Socialism vs. Anarchism.

Henry Jager.

Ossining, N. Y., August 11.

ROUSING RALLY ON RUTGERS
SQUARE.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—The first open-air meeting under the auspices of the Ninth Congressional District Campaign Committee, S. L. P., was held Saturday, August 9, on Rutgers Square. The meeting was a successful one in every detail. Comrade Meyerowitz, with a few introductory remarks, opened the meeting and introduced J. Vaughn as the first speaker.

Vaughn showed up the different political parties and their actions at their recent conventions, showing the S. L. P. to be the only political party that stands squarely for the working class. He also showed up the tyranny of the capitalist parties in Colorado. He received hearty applause.

The next speaker, Chaikens, explained the effect of machinery on the working class, citing instances which were immediately grasped by the audience. Chaikens also impressed on his hearers to read our literature and the party press. He spoke in Jewish and was well applauded.

Frank Campbell spoke next. He, in a loud and clear tone, pointed out the corruption of the capitalist and "Kangaroo" parties and their hand-maids, the labor fakirs. Campbell made many telling points and received great applause.

Comrade Joseph Schlossberg followed Campbell. Schlossberg was in good trim. He showed that the was no difference between Roosevelt or Parker, as candidates of the capitalist parties. He pointed out how both are promoters and upholders of injunctions and militia against striking workmen. He also cited many instances of how the working class are degraded. Schlossberg's speech was very explicit. He concluded amidst tremendous applause. The last speaker was J. Friedman, who, like Schlossberg, spoke in Jewish. In a short speech Friedman showed his hearers why the S. L. P. is the only party through which they could emancipate themselves from their present degenerating and degrading condition.

Twenty-four pamphlets were sold and a large number of leaflets distributed.

Louis C. Stone.

New York, August 8.

STREET MEETINGS INCREASE
MEMBERSHIP.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Three more successful street meetings were held in the Sixth and Tenth Assembly District during the past week. On July 20 we held one at the corner of Second avenue and Sixth street, which was addressed by Sater, Haupt and Chase. Eighteen books were sold.

On August 3 a meeting was held at the corner of Second avenue and Fourth street, where the Kangaroos held forth every Friday evening. At our meeting the audience heard some things they do not hear on Friday evenings. The speakers, Moskovitz, Haupt and Jager, held the largest crowd I have seen at any meeting on the east side this year. The

THE PILGRIM'S SHELL

Interesting Correspondence Regarding
Sue's Great Medieval Story.

The "New York Times Book Review" of August 6 contained the following letter:

Sue's "Pilgrim's Shell."

New York Times Book Review:

I noticed the article in the current issue of The Book Review, "The Pilgrim's Shell," published by the Labor News Company. For the benefit of the many readers of your paper I would like to make the following statement: In the years from 1849 to 1856 Eugene Sue wrote a series of stories completed in three volumes, called "Les Mysteres du Peuple," and the above story is the very last of the series, of six chapters, in two parts. Why did not the publishers give the complete version, that we may all understand, and not a catchpenny unfinished tale? Some years ago the Commonwealth Company published a story entitled "The Silver Cross; or, The Carpenter of Nazareth," which is deceiving, as many would believe that it relates to Christ, whereas "The Silver Cross" covers the years from 100 to 130 A. D. And for the information of those who desire to read "Les Mysteres du Peuple," I would state that it was translated into English in 1863 and published by Trubner & Co., Paternoster Row.

Peter Cadley.

New York, July 30, 1904.

The following letters in answer, appeared in the same review of August 13: "The Pilgrim's Shell."

I.

New York Times Book Review:

In the current issue of The Book Review is a letter from Mr. Peter Cadley apropos of the publication of "The Pilgrim's Shell" by the Labor News Company. His well-meant effort to impart helpful information to your readers is marred by some serious errors of fact which I beg leave to correct.

Mr. Cadley says that "The Pilgrim's Shell" is the last of Sue's series called "Les Mysteres du Peuple." It is not. It is the eleventh story of a series of eighteen. He says that it is of six chapters, in two parts. It is really in three parts, no one of which is subdivided into chapters. He says that "The Mysteries of the People" was published

Kangaroos were so badly ripped to pieces that it will take many a Friday night for them to square themselves. One Kangaroo wanted to know if we did not have fakirs in our party, too. In asking the question he admitted that there were fakirs in the Social Democratic party, but contended that his party was justified in keeping them in the party on the ground that we, too, had fakirs in our party, but when Jager pressed the man to name a crooked man in the S. L. P., he could not do it. Twenty-four books were sold.

The next evening, August 4, we held a meeting in the Jewish neighborhood, at the corner of Rivington and Suffolk streets, which was addressed by Moskovitz and Smilansky. Fifteen Jewish "What Means This Strike?" were sold, and one man applied for membership, and paid the initiation fee.

Comrades, we want more members, and our street meetings is a good place to get them. Our speakers should explain the necessity for those who understand our movement to join it. Make this a part of your business when you are on the platform. Have application blanks with you always. Why can we not take in thirty or forty new members at each meeting of the General Committee between now and election day? That would indicate that we are growing and you all know that we want to grow. The Sixth and Tenth has picked up three new members at our street meetings so far this summer and we are going to get more of them.

A. S.

New York, August 6.

GOOD MEETING IN THE TWENTY-
THIRD ASSEMBLY DISTRICT.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—An open-air meeting was held at the northwest corner of 135th street and Fifth avenue on August 5. Comrade Popper acted as chairman. He introduced Comrade Harvey A. Santee as the first speaker. The way Santee handled the social question was able and convincing to the majority of the crowd of about 150.

The second speaker, Comrade Julius Eek, spoke on the trades union question, which he treated well. Several questions were asked and answered to the best of advantage.

Comrade Twoomey was next introduced to answer further questions. One of them gave him the opportunity to expose the crookedness of the so-called "Socialist" party. His explanation held the crowd in rapt attention to the last. Six books, "What Means This Strike?" were sold, and a quantity of leaflets,

originally in three volumes. The first French edition was in sixteen volumes. He calls the story in question "catchpenny" and "incomplete," evidently not knowing that the whole series is in course of preparation by the same publishers.

In what Mr. Cadley says of "The Silver Cross" he is still more mistaken. He avers that the story covers the years 100 to 130 A. D., and therefore cannot deal with Christ. The story itself states that it begins about 20 A. D., and Christ is the central figure in it. He delivers in it His parables and sermons as we know them from the Scripture, and at the close of the book dies on the cross at Calvary. And, incidentally, the story was published by the "International" Publishing Company, not the "Commonwealth," as he has it.

Finally Mr. Cadley says that any one wishing to read "Les Mysteres du Peuple" in English can do so by obtaining an English edition published in London in 1863. But two librarians to whom I have applied informed me that if there ever was such an edition it was probably out of print now. At any rate, they had never heard of it.

S. D. L.

Milford, Conn., August 6, 1904.

II.

New York Times Book Review: Regarding Eugene Sue's "Les Mysteres du Peuple," Peter Cadley asks, in a letter on our book, "The Pilgrim's Shell," in your issue of Saturday, August 6: "Why did not the publishers give the complete version, that we may all understand, and not a catchpenny, unfinished tale?"

Permit us to answer that it is our intention to give what Mr. Cadley asks for, in a manner worthy of the great French author. "The Pilgrim's Shell" is the first of the stories comprising "Les Mysteres du Peuple" that we have published. The others are now being translated and set up as fast as possible. "The Pilgrim's Shell" was selected, as a story complete in itself, to pave the way to a popular introduction of the entire series.

An eminent critic, writing of Daniel De Leon's translation of this story, says: "We trust the success of his effort may be such as to lead him to translate the rest of the romance." We can assure the readers of The Book Review that the success of "The Pilgrim's Shell" has been such as this critic desires.

New York Labor News Company.
New York, August 8, 1904.

none of which were thrown away, was distributed.

N. Zolinsky,

Organizer Twenty-third A. D.

New York, August 5.

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correspondents are requested to keep a
copy of their articles, and not to expect
them to be returned. Consequently, no
stamps should be sent for return.

SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES:

In 1888..... 2,068
In 1892..... 21,157
In 1896..... 36,564
In 1900..... 34,191
In 1902..... 53,763

"I stand here, friends, to urge that a
new leaf be turned over—that the labor
class, instead of idly and blindly waiting
for better circumstances and better
times, shall begin at once to consider
and discuss the means of controlling cir-
cumstances and, commanding times, by
study, calculation, foresight, union."
—Horace Greeley.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY NOMINA-
TIONS.

For President:

CHARLES HUNTER CORREGAN

Printer

SYRACUSE, NEW YORK.

For Vice-President:

WILLIAM WESLEY COX

Miner

COLLINSVILLE, ILLINOIS.

CAPITALISM VERIFIES SOCIALIST
TEACHINGS.

Ernest Poole, in the article on the meat
strike, which appeared originally in The
Independent, and was copiously repro-
duced in The People, after describing
the miserable homes and the low wages
—\$7.40 a week—of the Packingtown la-
borers, relates the following:

"Yes, it is hard," I heard yesterday
from the superintendent of one large
packing house. It is hard that this
wage must be reduced. But it can't be
helped. It's simply the law of supply
and demand. The supply of labor is
steadily growing larger. Had you come
here last week at 6 a. m. you would have
seen over 5,000 men looking for jobs.
As the depression grows worse there will
be 100,000 men out of work in Chicago.
They will crowd out here. They won't
demand 18½ cents. They will be glad
to get even 15 cents. Why should we
pay more than we have to? We certainly
have the right to hire labor as cheap
as we can."

Long has Socialism proclaimed that
under capitalism labor is a merchandise,
bought and sold in the "labor market"
just as beef is bought in the "beef
market," and leather in the "leather
market," according to the supply and
demand of labor. Socialism has, further,
long proclaimed that owing to the
privately owned improved machinery,
concentration of plants, and industrial
crises, which displace labor, the labor
market is steadily being overstocked,
with the inevitable results that the
earnings of the working class decline.
The superintendent above quoted verifies
Socialist teaching and gives point to the
argument. This, despite the fact that,
as his language indicates, the super-
intendent is decidedly capitalist.

To the non-Socialist this capitalist
verification of Socialist teaching may ap-
pear deliberate and designed; yet nothing
is further from the truth. It is the
peculiarly fatal quality of capitalism
that it contains within itself the germs
of its own destruction. Daily its logical
workings are opening working class eyes
and driving home the truth of Socialist
teaching. One time it is Colorado, where
the conflicting interests of capital and
labor bring out the class character of
government in a startling manner. On
another occasion, the trusts, the outcome
of competition, vividly bring out the
angers of concentrated wealth and the
necessity for social ownership and con-
trol. To-day it's the evils growing out
of the merchandise character of labor
that verify Socialist teaching and cause a
revulsion against capitalism. At all times
is capitalism creating the conditions that
will eventually destroy it. Capitalism is
digging its own grave. Socialism will
be present, at its death, to see that it
receives the burial it deserves.

Outlaws are reported in Cuba. Pos-
sibly some of the American politicians
who secured concessions down there are
returning to the pursuit of their old
trade.

PARKER AND LIBERTY.

"The safe and sane candidate" of cap-
italism, Parker, has spoken, and lo, what
pearls of wisdom have fallen from his
oracular mouth. In his notification speech
he assures us that the constitutions of
the states and nation guarantee liberty,
which he defines as follows:

"Liberty, as understood in this coun-
try, means not only the right of free-
dom from actual servitude, imprisonment
or restraint, but the right of one to use
his faculties in all lawful ways, to live
and work where he will and to pursue
any lawful trade or business."

This pearl of wisdom can only be ap-
preciated by THE EMPLOYEES OF CO-
PORATIONS, AND THE MEMBERS OF
THE WORKING CLASS GENERALLY,
WHO HAVE BEEN GIVEN TO UNDER-
STAND THAT THEY MUST VOTE FOR
PARKER, OR SUFFER A CONTINUA-
TION OF ALL THE EVILS OF THE
PRESENT DEPRESSION.

In other words, this pearl of wisdom
can only be appreciated by the wage-
workers who, divorced from land and
capital, and rendered unable thereby to
engage in an industrial enterprise of
their own, are compelled to sell their
labor power, that is, themselves, to the
capitalist class, subject to their rules
and regulations, direct and implied.

"Oh, Liberty, what crimes are com-
mitted in thy name!"

NEW YORK'S NEXT GOVERNOR.

Daniel Lamont has been slated by the
capitalists now dominating the political
situation, to be the next Governor of
New York. Who is Lamont? Is he a
man likely to promote the interests of
the working class? Information on
these heads may be gained from the
Washington Star, an alleged independent
newspaper.

The Star warns New York Democrats
against nominating Lamont for govern-
or, on the ground that he is too close
to the trusts, through his connection
with James J. Hill. "Mr. Sheehan is an
adviser of trusts," the Star says. "Cord
Meyer is a Sugar Trust man. Mr.
McCurran is said to be a Standard Oil
man. August Belmont is the American
representative of the Rothschilds. And
now to make James J. Hill's lieutenant
the candidate for governor, with all that
that would imply, might be that last
straw that would break the donkey's
back."

In addition, it should be added that
Lamont is a member of the Weidner-
Elkins-Whitney group of Standard Oil
capitalists. As such, Lamont is deeply
interested in electric traction, gas and
other municipal franchise corporations.
He can be relied on to put through the
so-called Astoria gas grab, with which
the Standard Oil group is closely con-
nected.

A man, nowadays, is not only judged
by the company he keeps, but also by
the interests with which he is identified.
The company and interests of Daniel
Lamont are capitalist in character. They
are in striking contrast to the company
and interests with which his Socialist
Labor Party opponent, Daniel De Leon,
is identified. The company and interests
of Daniel De Leon are Socialist in char-
acter.

Workmen alive to their own in-
terests will vote against the Daniel
whom the capitalists would impose on
them, for the benefit of the capitalist
class, and in favor of the Daniel whom
the Socialist Labor Party offers for elec-
tion in the interests of the working class
—Daniel De Leon, the intrepid foe of
capitalism, and able champion of the
working class.

Life insurance is reported on the in-
crease. The necessity of securing its ad-
vantages are on the increase, too, which
accounts for it.

Millinery buyers are reported as slow
in purchasing. Others who are not mil-
linery buyers are purchasing in the same
way.

The political managers are preparing
to concentrate the campaign into the
month of October. Then they are going
to let out a lot of spellbinders, and
create an excitement that will sweep
the workmen off their feet and into
the camps of the two old parties. The
members of the Socialist Labor Party
should take note of this plan, and fore-
stall it as much as possible by the sys-
tematic distribution of leaflets at once.
The New York State Committee has al-
ready taken steps in this direction, with
good results. Don't wait until October
for our campaign to begin. We must
get in our "licks" now.

Schwab, the steel man, predicts more
"unexampled prosperity"—next spring.
Under capitalism there are always good
times coming. If the working class
lives long enough they will be here when
they arrive.

The People is a good broom to brush
the cobwebs from the minds of the
workers. Buy a copy and pass it around.

THE FALL RIVER DIVIDENDS.

The textile manufacturers of Fall
River, Mass., four weeks ago caused
their employees to strike against a re-
duction of wages amounting to 12½ per
cent. The strikers are now subsisting
on public charity, while the manufac-
turers are waiting for them to be starved
into submission. The manufacturers
claim that the condition of business
warrants the reduction, as they were
conducting the industry at a loss. A
table of dividends paid by the Fall River
mill corporations during the past fifteen
years, compiled by the leading local stock
brokerage firm, throws some interesting
light on this claim, and points a few
morals wherewith to adorn the tale.

This table shows that the corporation
paying the highest dividends has been
the Troy Manufacturing Company. This
corporation for the last fifteen years
has paid an average dividend of 20.46
per cent. It is capitalized for only
\$300,000, but during fifteen years it has
given to its stockholders 307 per cent.,
and, according to the compilers of this
table, those who have been so fortunate
as to possess this stock for that period
of time have received their money back
three times over.

The Union mills has paid out in di-
vidends 214½ per cent., an annual average
of 14.3 per cent. This is the concern of
which it is claimed that it is carrying a
surplus at the present time of nearly
\$250,000.

The Bourne mills for fourteen years,
from 1889 to 1902, inclusive, paid 18½
per cent. in dividends, a yearly average
of 13.3. In 1893 the plant was re-cap-
italized, and a dividend of 49½ per cent.,
which included a dividend of stock, was
accorded to the credit of the share-
holders.

The Seaconnet mills have paid 92½
per cent. in dividends, and the Sagar-
more 109 per cent. during this period.
This is a yearly advance for the Sagar-
more of 6.43, and for the Sagar more of
7.26.

During the four years that the Ark-
wright has been running it has de-
livered to its shareholders twenty-one
per cent., or a yearly average of 5.25.
This does not represent its actual earn-
ings by any means, however. It was
organized on an insufficient amount of
capital for the size of the plant, but has
overcome that handicap, and the conse-
quent embarrassment financially, out of
its large profits in the last few years.

The Stebens, which did not enter the
manufacturers' agreement, because, as
Agent Hill says, it could not afford to be
shut down, has paid seventy-four per
cent. in ten years, a yearly average of
7.4 per cent. The Weetamoo has paid
44½ per cent., an average each year of
2.9. Following is the yearly average of
the thirty-three plants. In 1889, 9.46 per
cent.; in 1890, 6.9; in 1891, 5.6; in 1892,
8.3; in 1893, 7.4; in 1894, 5.2; in 1895,
7.9; in 1896, 6.4; in 1897, 4.8; in 1898,
2.4; in 1899, 5; in 1900, 8; in 1901, 5.5;
in 1902, 6.6, and in 1903, 6.9.

Last year these corporations cut wages
10 per cent., although, according to the
compilers of this table, the dividends
paid to the shareholders were much
larger than the money invested would
have yielded at the local banks, and the
local banks have paid good dividends.

During all these years new machinery
and buildings have constantly been
added, and there are many concerns that
are being equipped with the latest me-
chanical devices for turning out their
respective products.

"On the face of these returns," say
the compilers, "the talk about going out
of business is nonsensical. The total
amount of dividends paid in the year for
1902 alone was \$1,389,850."

This table of dividends, together with
the compiler's comments, disposes of
the manufacturer's absurd claim. The
disposition will be rendered more ef-
fective by recalling that, in addition to
these high dividends, the stockholders
and their relatives hold the best posi-
tions in the corporations, receiving lucra-
tive salaries, and enjoying abundance of
leisure for study, travel and pleasure,
the actual work being performed by
competent subordinates.

But it is the lesson that this table
contains that makes it more striking
than its disposition of the manufac-
turer's claims. It makes clear once
more that instead of capital giving
labor wages, as is claimed, labor is giv-
ing capital great wealth, in the form of
dividends. Labor not only pays its own
wages and the expenses of industrial
operation, but, according to this table,
it enriches the capitalists who invest in
the mills, returning to them over three-
fold the capital advanced in the most
conspicuous case, more than two-fold in
the next best instance, and more, far
more, than the average rate of interest
in almost all the other instances. In
addition, labor provides new machinery
and new buildings, that is, it not only
pays wages, the expenses of operation,
and supports the capitalists in regal
magnificence, but it also adds to their
capital, making it possible to increase
that munificence still further in future
years.

Labor's reward for all this is to be
egged into a strike and compelled to

subsist on public charity, until it will
agree to increase the capitalist's di-
vidends and capital still further by sub-
mitting to a reduction of 12½ per cent.
in wages. In other words, Labor, the
Atlas of the capitalist world, is to be
humiliated and degraded in order to
further enrich the capitalist brood now
supported on its broad shoulders!

The day is fast coming, however,
when the modern Atlas will free himself
of this useless burden, and throw the
capitalist class skyward. Such incidents
as the Fall River strike and table of di-
vidends are bringing that day ever nearer
with increasing rapidity.

THE CHURCH AND PROPERTY.

In the vernacular of the day, the op-
ponents of Socialism will insist on open-
ing their mouth to put their foot in it.
The men engaging in these stupid per-
formances are not ignorant or vicious
men, but men, who, ordinarily, are cre-
dited with the possession of consider-
able intelligence, learning and decency,
and from whom one would expect some-
thing more dignified and in keeping with
their reputation. These men are not
always isolated individuals, either, but
men whose collective knowledge ought
to prevent them from making ludicrous
exhibits of their organizations. Here,
for instance, is the recent Catholic Con-
gress at Detroit, showing that man needs
not be alone in order to be foolish and
absurd, but he can do it just as well in
combination with others of his species.
The congress adopted a series of resolu-
tions condemning Socialism, in which
the following appears:

"We condemn Socialism as opposed to
natural justice, since its primary object
is to deprive man of the lawful posses-
sion of STAPLE AND PERMANENT
PRIVATE PROPERTY, which is neces-
sary for the welfare of the individual
as well as the family."

The absurdity of this condemnation
consists in the fact that it is tantamount
to a condemnation of the Catholic
Church itself. The Catholic Church
changes its teachings regarding property
with every change in the forms of prop-
erty. The Catholic Church thus shows
that it believes in depriving a man of
"the lawful possession of STAPLE AND
PERMANENT PRIVATE PROPERTY," once
evolution forces it to do so.

The primitive Christian Church ad-
vocated communism. Its successor in
medieval times defended and practiced
feudalism. To-day the Catholic Church
upholds capitalism. In the future, under
Socialism, it is likely, unless it con-
tradicts its own history, that the Catholic
Church will be the last to relinquish
social ownership. Property changes, and
the holy church changes with it.

One thing is certain, that for the
adherents of a church that has succe-
ssively believed in primitive communism,
medieval feudalism and modern cap-
italism, and the immense property
changes that these imply, to prate of
depriving man of "the lawful possession
of STAPLE AND PERMANENT PRIVATE
PROPERTY" is to hurl a boomerang
with bad results: it is, as said at the
beginning, a case of opening one's
mouth to put his foot in it.

Next week absurdity number two in
this condemnation will be pointed out.

"THE INDIVIDUAL RIGHT TO LABOR"

The cry, "the individual right to la-
bor" is much heard in modern times.
Does such a right exist? When men,
eager for honorable employment, starve
or commit suicide, after searching for
it in vain, where is "the individual right
to labor"? When a factory, operated
by thousands of employees, takes on or
lays off those thousands of men, as the
interests of its capitalist owners may de-
mand, where is "the individual right to
labor" of each of the individuals com-
prising those thousands of employees?

When all the workmen in numerous
trades are registered by employers' as-
sociations, and required to seek positions
at the employment bureaus of such
associations, which are operated for the
purpose of controlling the labor market
in those trades, where is "the individual
right to labor" in those trades? When
workmen are displaced by improved
machinery, as the "L" engineers were,
for instance, where is "the individual
right to labor" of those displaced work-
men? When employment depends on the
supply and demand of labor, i. e., on
economic laws, where is "the individual
right to labor"?

The men who utter this cry overlook
the fact that to-day labor is social—or-
ganized, exploited, employed or dis-
charged en masse. That 75,000 railroad
men were recently laid off, was not an
unaccountable accident, but an incident
illustrative of the social character of
modern labor.

At one time, "the individual right
to labor" was possible. That was at a
time when the individual, with a little
capital, could employ himself. To-day,
vast capital, operated by a vast orga-
nization of men, women and children, is
necessary. Labor has become social, and
so has the right to labor. All else is a
dream and a myth, useful to employers
desiring cheap labor, but dangerous to
society!

SEPARATION VS. SOLIDARITY.

The People has received a copy of the
following call for a meeting:

"International Culinary Association of
New York, Local 719, H. & R. E. I. A.:
"Dear Sir and Brother:—You are re-
quested to attend a special general meet-
ing of the Firemen, Potwashers and Vege-
table Cooks of the Association to take
place Monday, August 22, 1904, at 8.30
p. m., at headquarters, 147 W. 35th St.
"The object of this meeting is to dis-
cuss the separation of above mentioned
crafts from the cooks belonging to this
organization.

"Yours fraternally
"The Committee.

The person from whom the copy of the
call was received says the whole object
of the separation movement is jobs and
graft. By splitting the union into crafts
more walking delegates will be needed,
and after separate unions are organized,
they can be played against one another,
in the craft interests of the strongest.
Whether this is so or not, a more cor-
rect word than separation could not be
used to characterize the craft unionism
proposed in the above call. That kind
of unionism is in vogue in this country
to-day. It is fostered by Samuel Gom-
pers and all the so-called labor leaders in
this country. Its object is to prevent
the solidarity of the working class, and
to use the strongest organizations in the
interests of their members and their
employers, in opposition to the interests
of all workmen, i. e., the working
class. Every workman who favors
class interests as opposed to craft in-
terests, will resist the separation move-
ment and work for solidarity, when and
wherever possible.

REDUCTION OF HOURS.

The Socialist Labor Party has re-
peatedly contended that a reduction of
hours to be of benefit to the working
class must not only be a nominal reduc-
tion, but an actual one, as well. It has
gone further and shown that the re-
duced hours won by the Gompers' pure
and simple unions mean intensified labor,
a shorter period of working class wage
earning life, and an increased industrial
death rate. Gompers, himself, gave
point to this argument during the debate
on the Eight-Hour bill, by showing that
manufactures and imports increase as the
length of the work-day decreases. The
letters from workmen that appear in the
trade union organs in protest against
"rushing" also substantiate S. L. P. con-
tention. One of these letters is now be-
fore us. It appears on page 111 of the
August number of the "Bricklayer and
Mason," and is written by a member of
Union No. 47, N. Y. Says the writer,
who is an Italian, judging from his
name: "I think there is more work
done in eight hours now than was done
in ten or twelve or fourteen hours in
some parts of the old country. Ex-
cessive work of this kind not only leads
to physical deformity, but mental de-
generation also. IT IS AN OUTRAGE
ON THE LAWS OF NATURE TO
BE CONTINUALLY STRIVING TO
DO TWO DAYS' WORK IN ONE."
This letter is illustrated by a picture of
a four handed bricklayer at work. It
well befits the complaint of the brick-
layer, and goes to prove that the S. L.
P. is right when it points out the frau-
dulency of the Gompers' "reduction of
hours."

SOCIALIST UNIONISM.

Travelling cigarmakers report, that
since the big strike in Montreal, the
working conditions of the trade have
changed much for the worse. Of the
many small factories which started after
the strike, and from which much good
was expected, few are left, the others
have all been driven to the wall by con-
centrated capital in the cigar industry.
Such severe lessons as that Montreal
strike ought to open the eyes of the
cigarmakers to the fact that nothing
else can be expected by them, as long
as they will permit their pure and simple
union to act as a buffer between labor
and capital.

A strike is a rebellion of the wage
slave against the capitalist master, and,
as long as the wage slaves are willing
to remain wage slaves and the capital-
ist masters to remain capitalist masters,
in all strikes,—no matter what the
nature of the strike may be,—just or
unjust,—the capitalist masters will treat
the strike as a rebellion and the strikers
as rebels. (Isn't Colorado proof of this?)

The Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance
treats the matter from a different view-
point. While we recognize that the work-
ers are the wage slaves of the capital-
ist class, we, too, believe in unions and
strikes, but not as a rebellion for better
conditions only but for the purpose of
finally overthrowing the capitalist sys-
tem of production, which makes wage
slavery necessary.

The Socialist Unionist demands the
unconditional surrender of the capital-
ist class and the establishment of the
Socialist Republic. That puts the mat-
ter in altogether a different light. It
takes from Unionism that selfish guild



BROTHER JONATHAN — This is
going too far. This is awful! These la-
bor unions must be smashed!

UNCLE SAM—Hem!

B. J.—Do you believe in Trades
Unions?

U. S.—I do in some; I don't in others.

B. J.—Do you believe in Unions that
establish regulations which deprive their
members of the freedom to enter into
whatever agreement they please?

U. S.—There can be no sensible objec-
tion to that.

B. J.—Well, I have a sensible objec-
tion to it. We call this a free country;
and so it is. True freedom means that
men shall be allowed to enter into any
agreement, unrestricted and unmolested.
To do what the Unions do is a violation
of freedom. Smash the Unions.

U. S.—Tut, tut, tut.

B. J.—No "tut, tut, tut" about it; I
say the Unions are treasonable, they vio-
late the land's fundamental principle of
freedom. Smash them, I say.

U. S.—"Smash them" on the ground
that they restrict their membership from
absolute liberty to do as they please?

B. J.—Just so!

U. S.—Suppose you feel like selling
your vote to me on election day—

B. J.—I couldn't.

U. S.—Not if you wanted to?

B. J.—Not if I wanted to

U. S.—Why not?

B. J.—Because I am forbidden by law
from so doing.

U. S.—The law restricts your freedom
to enter into such an agreement unre-
stricted and unmolested?

B. J.—It does.

U. S. (with a satirical smile)—"Smash
the Law!" Would you?

B. J.—No! But—

U. S.—What, then, becomes of your
rigmarole about smashing the Unions on
the ground of their restricting their
members from doing just as they please?

B. J. (visibly at sea)—I must admit
that I have lost my foothold. But let
me tell you that what I said, and the
argument that I held, I read in the pa-
pers from the decision of a Judge, who
issued an injunction restricting the strik-
ers from picketing and the like. That
was no argument. The fellow must be
a jackass.

U. S.—No, he is not a jackass; he is
simply a hired man of the capitalist
class, put there by the capitalist class
of labor fleecers and the labor fakirs
who act as labor lieutenants of the cap-
italist class to twist the Law so as to
get Labor always on the hip, and to
blind its eyes with the dust of free-
dom.

B. J.—In what way?

U. S.—You will admit that to prevent
a man from selling his vote is a restric-
tion of his freedom?

B. J.—That it is.

U. S.—And you will admit that it is
proper to put that restriction upon him,
lest the suffrage be utterly demoralized?

B. J.—I see that.

spirit which wants to monopolize the
good conditions of the trade for the ben-
efit of their chosen members to the ex-
clusion of the rest of their fellow crafts-
men, who are not in a position to get
inside the trade guilds.

The Socialist Unionist stands for the
good and welfare of the whole work-
ing-class, and has a right to expect the
support of all workers, and will get it,
too, in due course of time, when the
pure and simple have battered out their
brains against the stubborn facts of
modern capitalism.

Rally around the banner, boys, of the
Socialist Labor Party, and the Socialist
Trade and Labor Alliance. They stand
for success of the labor movement

What has become of the garment
workers' strike against the open shop?
Will Gompers, the man with the steel
boiler inside of him, who directed that
strike, please answer?

Cigarmakers International Union, 113
of Tacoma, Wash., has appealed to a
vote of the general body for permission
to REDUCE its price of labor, giving
as a reason that their bosses are unable
to compete with the eastern product.
This is typical of pure and simple union-
ism, which is more concerned with the
interests of employers than with the in-
terests of employees.

U. S.—Accordingly, a "restriction of
freedom" is not in itself wrong. It may
be perfectly right. If by such restriction
the welfare of the commonwealth is pre-
served the restriction is beneficial.

B. J.—I see that.

U. S.—Accordingly, the question to be
considered in each case is not the ab-
stract question of freedom or slavery,
but the concrete question, whether a
specific action is good or bad. If it is
good, then to restrict it is wrong, is to
interfere with freedom: if it is bad, then
the restriction of it is right, because
freedom aims at the happiness of the
masses, no act that would interfere with
that promotes freedom

B. J.—Nods assent.

U. S.—Now, then, test the action of
a bona fide Trades Union by that prin-
ciple. Do you not see that if one man
is willing to work for lower wages than
others he thereby lowers the happiness
of all? If that one man chooses to cut
off his own nose no one might interfere.

But if the cutting off his own nose would
compel others to do likewise, then his
operation ceases to be his private busi-
ness, and becomes the business of all
others. Ain't it?

B. J.—Yes, by Jove! But why, then,
is that Judge so dead set against it?

CORRESPONDENCE

CONTRIBUTORS WHO PREFER TO SIGN IN FULL UNDER AN ASSIGNED NAME WILL ATTACH SUCH NAME TO THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS, SHOWING THEIR OWN SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS. NAMES OTHER WILL BE RECOGNIZED.

MR. LITTLE OBJECTS—OBJECTION ANSWERED.

To the Daily and Weekly People: In the Weekly People of the 16th inst., I read a contribution from Oscar Freer, under the caption of "Keeping the Working Class in the Dark," regarding a mass meeting held by the Columbus Trades and Labor Assembly, in the interest of the Colorado miners, in which he made a scathing arraignment of the speakers and their motives, and to which I, in the name of common sense and decency, wish to reply.

I am a reader of The People and also a voter of the S. L. P., and fully appreciate the Party's stand on "Trades Unionism." I was present at the meeting of the T. and L. Assembly when a motion was carried to hold a mass meeting, the expense of which was to be borne by the locals affiliated with the Assembly, and almost immediately a report was circulated to injure the meeting by some real "labor fakir", who stated that it was to be a Socialist meeting, and as there are all sorts of political ideas among workers in Columbus, in common with other cities, it was naturally deemed wise to state broad cast that it was not a political meeting, and for that reason, President Paul, of the T. and L. Assembly, made the statement that he did at the outset of the meeting.

Mr. Freer states that Max Hayes made a shameful address, and that statement I wish to contradict. Mr. Hayes delivered a most eloquent address relating the causes leading up to the trouble in Colorado, and with every utterance convicting the members of the Mine Owners' Association and the Citizens' Alliance with all the damnable murder and violation of law, and then overstepping the purpose of the committee, not to have any Socialism discussed, he blazed away for Socialism, and for at least 30 minutes kept the audience spellbound, while he told the workers the way to their salvation, and said if they ever win they must vote class-conscious against the Republican and Democratic parties, and for a party of their own class, thereby getting behind the political power and the guns instead of at present, in front of them.

Mr. Freer also states that no one gained any knowledge of intrinsic value, but from the remarks of many after the meeting anyone could easily see the impression that was left, and I believe I would be safe in saying that from the influence of that meeting there will be many converts to Socialism.

While I recognize the fact that The People is radical, I also believe it stands for truth and not for falsehood and disinformation, even though that truth emanates from one who is not necessarily in The People side of the question.

I believe the majority of readers of The People in Columbus were at the T. and L. Assembly mass meeting and from many such I heard the article of Mr. Freer condemned and for that reason reply.

Trusting you will see fit to publish this and thereby showing the people of Columbus that you believe in fairness,

I am respectfully yours for the cause,
JAMES C. LITTLE.

Columbus, O., July 29.

To the Daily and Weekly People: Mr. Little is a life insurance agent. Formerly he was a grocer clerk and business agent of the union of that craft. Sometimes he votes S. L. P., sometimes S. P., and other times the recognized capitalist parties. It seems strange that, nearly two weeks after my letter appeared, Mr. Little found it necessary to call attention to the alleged injustice done Labor Fakir Max Hayes.

I took no notes of Hayes' address, but the sum and substance of it was to prove that the Colorado labor unions were not guilty of the crimes, such as the instigation and the perpetration of the various explosions, charged to them. The pure and simple applauded this exonerating from such crimes, thus betraying that they are not on to capitalist tactics. The pure and simple do not know that they are in a class war and, therefore, cannot anticipate or understand the tactics which the capitalists use against them, and are, consequently, being led like sheep to slaughter. If the laws of capitalism, especially the laws of wages, were taught them, they would understand these outrages, and seize hold of the government to end them. Any speaker that attacks the Mine Owners and Citizens' Alliance will get applause, but he is not doing this fundamental and important socialist work. He is keeping the working

class in the dark.

Mr. Little says a number of those present at the meeting condemn my letter. I don't know how that can be so, for I, who am most concerned, haven't heard a word of the kind. I asked a gentleman who, like Little is liable to vote any old way, what he thought of the address. His reply was that he was disappointed. He characterized Hayes in a manner that I will not quote. Another party, speaking of the address, and the way it was handled, said that economics could not be discussed at a meeting that is held as that was. It would seem from this that Mr. Little does not represent the consensus of opinion on that meeting.

Mr. Little says Hayes advocated political action. I have no distinct recollection on that head; but I do remember the advice to throw away political prejudice.

I would ask how can a class party be conceived of, when a speaker addresses a meeting of organizations who believe capital and labor are brothers, and there is nothing involved between them but a family quarrel? With all the inconsistencies and contradictions expressed by them, it makes little beneficial difference what such people as Hayes have to say—it perpetuates the labor fakirs and grafters, and, as I said, in my letter, keeps the working class in the dark. Clear, class-conscious action is what is wanted. That is something Hayes never gives.

Oscar Freer.

Columbus, O., Aug. 5.

PORTENTOUS SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—In a report of Comrade Frank Bohn's, from Youngstown, Ohio, a feeling is expressed which probably every active S. L. P. man has within him; Bohn "sincerely hopes that the roof may fall in on every S. L. P. man who stays at home evenings or on Sunday." Such a sentiment gathers in force when coming into contact with the restlessness and discontent displayed by the workmen one meets to-day. They are ready for a change and are becoming desperate enough to seize upon the first thing that comes along which they think will give them an opportunity to do something for themselves. Such, at least, is the conclusion I arrive at from my experience in soliciting signatures for our nomination papers. And if we of the Socialist Labor Party are not alive to the needs of the hour we must expect to see the working class revolution smothered in its own blood and ourselves along with it.

The social revolution will not be accomplished by staying at home. It is not sufficient by half to believe in Socialism; but what is needed is, after having accepted Socialism as the remedy, to engage in the active work of spreading it. This means that the place of those men convinced is inside the organization, in the ranks of the Socialist Labor Party, and on the breach; there to make our work tell. Our organization has a TASK before it, to accomplish which admits of no personal convenience or delays.

To a member the Socialist Labor Party can mean one of two things: it is the life-work of that member, or it is a side-issue; it is that which requires all his spare time to advance the movement, or it is that which it is nice to belong to, to call around to see the boys once in a while, and then go home and do nothing and complain about the lack of interest on the part of workmen generally. No one should want to belong to the party because of the latter of these two alternatives. To be so is a crime on the part of the S. L. P. men, or on the part of the S. L. P. sympathizers.

In collecting signatures, as aforesaid, I was astonished at the number of men who refused to sign the nomination papers, emphatically stating they had sworn off voting, that the officials were rotten—little better than jailbirds—, that both parties had no use for workmen, and therefore there was no use for voting. It is no exaggeration to say that the men making these objections had never read a Socialist tract or newspaper, but were bitter because they felt the harsh fate which had overtaken them and saw no escape. This is a portentous sign and will work for evil or for good according to the measure in which we seize the opportunity.

Again, at the street meetings, the Socialist Labor Party is well received, but our forces are inadequate to the work that may be done.

Let the comrades, sympathizers, and readers of the Weekly People wake up, join in the work, and in this campaign our movement may be made to record a material advance. Edmund Seidel.

Philadelphia, August 7.

A SIGNIFICANT INCIDENT IN THE CLASS STRUGGLE.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Enclosed find a letter I received from a friend this morning. Though the S. L. P. is not numerous, it is right on the antagonistic interests of capital and labor, and in its tactics.

A. B.

Omaha, Neb., August 4.

[Enclosure.]

Nebraska City, Neb., Aug. 2, 1904.

Mr. August Biermann,

Omaha, Neb.

Dear Comrade:—An incident occurred here this morning that cannot be properly published and have its significance brought out properly by any other newspaper than The People. You probably have heard of the affair as the central figure in it is a brother to one of our national officers, but it is not likely that the report is given out accurately and that is what I believe ought to be done through The People. I will outline the matter here, and if you see fit to send it in you can do so, but I will ask you not to allow my name to be connected with this report. I would send it in, but you are more closely related than I am.

The natural hostile feeling of the capitalist toward workmen was exemplified here this morning when Mark Morton, brother of our secretary of the navy, became angered at the sight of a union label. As he was driving into a livery barn for the purpose of leaving his horse, a local teamster's union card, which had been tacked on the wall, met his eye. It angered him to such an extent that he tore it down and threw it on the floor and then departed. The act soon aroused the indignation of the members of the teamsters' local, who decided to "get even."

A little mob was organized, and proceeded to hunt Mr. Morton, who was soon found at one of the banks and requested to return to the barn and tack the card in its place on the wall. He became very indignant at the first command, but the size of the crowd and its evident purpose caused him to reconsider. He was escorted back to the barn by the mob and a crowd of curious citizens, numbering in all about two hundred, and obeyed with all meekness. When he asked for a hammer with which to drive the tacks he was given a piece of iron and was told that it was good enough. They then requested that his horse be removed from the barn, which was done without any extra words and the horse was turned loose on the streets. The job was finished and the crowd dispersed peacefully. It is the funniest thing that ever happened here.

To make the situation here clearer I will add that the Morton-Gregson Packing Company here, in which the Mortons are all interested, is having trouble with their men and this probably stimulates the feeling.

Hoping to hear from you, I remain,
Yours sincerely,
A. A. N.

P. S.—Hurrah for Corcoran and Cox!

I have met the latter.

DISSECTING A CLERICAL.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Enclosed please find two clippings on the speech of the Rev. Father Campbell before the Catholic Congress, one from "Free Press," the other from the "Tribune," both of them indications of the forces we have to fight. The rage and helplessness that can be discovered in that speech is a sign of the advantage we have gained over our clerical opponents.

But it is not Socialism alone that is attacked by this reverend speaker; he attacks the American idea of government—constitutional government—and shows also that, if it was at all possible to do so, the electric chair, the gallows, or some such punishment would be the fate of those who would dare to oppose the rule and supremacy of the church. The clerical gentlemen will not be satisfied until their endeavors to stifle advancement and progress have made the working class good and tired of them, and, finally, turn the tables upon them and cast them into oblivion by means of the very same treatment that they would mete out to the oppressed proletarian.

Think of them imagining that they can smother the results of economic development by refusing to see it! Campbell tries to confuse all the various "Socialists" and "Anarchists." Rousseau is described as a Socialist, or a forerunner of the same. At the same time Campbell upholds the bourgeois revolution—capitalism—of which Rousseau was the prophet!—such is his historical and philosophical stupidity!

"Blasphemy" is an old cry. That charge is brought against others to cover up one's own rotten tracks; hence the gentleman has no hesitancy in declaring himself a protector of private property in the means of production, and all the infamies that that implies.

"Liberty" is his shout; Socialism will destroy it! As though his church would protect it! Does he think the history and massacres of the dark ages are forgotten! Probably the deeds performed

by certain factions of the capitalist class at Cripple Creek and Victor have encouraged him to believe that the church will be permitted to take the lead in social and industrial affairs here, as it was allowed to do in the late strike in Holland. Then good-bye for liberty, such as we have: it will be gone for fair!

M. Meyer.

Detroit, Mich., August 4.

RAPID SOCIAL CHANGES IN TEXAS.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—The editorial "Rapid Social Changes," while substantially correct, does not accurately quote my little talk at the Cooper Union meeting on July 6.

I said that when I came to Texas TWENTY-FOUR years ago, I found conditions as correctly described in the editorial; but only EIGHT years LATER in going over the same territory I found that radical changes had taken place.

To some of the Texas readers of The People the utterances quoted in the editorial may seem queer, so please correct.

Frank Leitner.

San Antonio, Tex., August 1.

EXIT THE ERIE "PEOPLE."

To the Daily and Weekly People:—The following death notice of the Erie "People" appeared in the Erie "Herald" of the 8th inst.:

"NEWSPAPER PLANT SOLD."

"The sheriff this morning sold the plant of the Evening Telegram Publishing Company for \$234. There were separate sales. The company published The People, the Socialist organ."

Upon interviewing the sheriff (Mr. Sedgwick), many interesting things were learned by your correspondent as to the cause of the trouble.

It seems that "The Erie Evening Telegram Co.," which was the official name of "The Erie People," a weekly paper, published by and in the interest of a few leading lights of the "Socialist" party, owed some \$800 for printing to an outside firm, for which C. S. Burchfield, attorney-at-law, levied against the plant to collect. In the meantime the agent for the Reed Estate put in a claim of about \$150 for rent. Not to be outdone by other claimants, the employees of the "Evening Telegram Co." put in a claim for wages to the amount of some \$500, expecting that the Erie Brewing Company would bid in the plant. But they (the "Socialists") were outgeneraled by Burchfield. He, knowing that the Brewing Company has a note against the plant, paid the claims and bid in the whole shooting match. The sheriff stated that "if the 'Socialist' party did not make some satisfactory settlement with Mr. Burchfield, he would sell the thing out piece by piece, until he had disposed of it."

"There is to be a meeting called tonight to decide what can be done, but as there is some dissension amongst those in control of the problem (Kleinke and Wanhope), the chances are that 'The Erie People' will cease to be a 'Socialist' paper."

Thus, it is only a question of a very short time when "Local Erie" will have disappeared from the political arena in this part of the world. Then Section Erie, Socialist Labor Party, will be able to make a better showing, as, of course, there is some good wheat among the chaff.

We are holding open-air meetings every Saturday night at the corner of Twelfth and State streets, at 8 p. m., and there is more interest being manifested than formerly. One new member, who was a Socialist in Austria, joined the Section last Tuesday night (August 2).

Hoping to have more news in the near future, I remain,

Yours fraternally,

Erie, Pa., August 9. Jer. Devine.

OFFICERSHIP IN PURE AND SIMPLE UNIONS.

To the Daily and Weekly People: Regarding the recent convention's interpretation of officership in pure and simple unions, including picket duty, committeemen, shop steward, delegate, etc., therein, I believe it should be voted down and left to the members' judgment whether to perform such duties or not.

My reasons are as follows: While the pure and simple union, on account of its guild forms has developed into a job trust, nevertheless, it is one of the forces of the capitalist system which must be considered and reckoned with. Self preservation being the first law of nature, members of the S. L. P. and S. T. and L. A. in order to make an existence, are often forced to join these trade unions. In many unions these duties are compulsory. Then again, because these unions are built upon the same rebellious spirit as the S. L. P. and S. T. and L. A. must be built, many strikes are honest efforts of the rank and file, which should be encouraged, and the rebellious spirit crystallized into class-consciousness, which can only be accomplished by having clear Socialists among them, or, a strong S. T. and L. A. movement to attract them from the outside.

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT NOTES

Two hundred and seventy-nine subscriptions to the Weekly People were received during the week ending Saturday, August 13. While this is not as good as the figures of last week, which were the banner ones for this year, it is a slight increase over the figures of the preceding week. Let us all pitch in and push the increase up a few pegs more next week, and keep it up until the 500 mark of last campaign is surpassed in this. All hands to work, it can and must be done!

Five or more subscriptions were received as follows: 34th A. D., New York, 11; Frank Bohn, Ohio, 8; M. J. Bostead, New Haven, Conn., 8; Section Boston, Mass., 8; John Harstman, San Francisco, 8; Henry Kaufer, Red Lake Falls, Minn., 8; Wm. Sullivan, Water-vliet, N. Y., 6; A. G. Buettli, Detroit, Mich., 6; O. P. Stoner, Claypool, Ind., 6; J. A. Leach, Tucson, Ariz., 6; Jas. Trainor, Syracuse, N. Y., 6; S. P. Kazic, Nome, Alaska, 5; S. R. Rager, Braddock, Pa., 5; J. Burkhardt, Indianapolis, Ind., 5; Section St. Louis, Mo., 5.

Prepaid subscription cards were sold as follows: Section Detroit, Mich., \$15; Peter Jacobsen, Yonkers, N. Y., \$5; Peter Riel, Minneapolis, Minn., \$5; Frank Leitner San Antonio Tex. \$5; Chas. Chester, Newport News, Va., \$5; Section Lynn, Mass., \$5; Kosta Georgevitch, Schenectady, N. Y., \$3; John Farrell, Lowell, Mass., \$2; Wm. Teichlauf, Brooklyn, N. Y., \$1.50; 34th A. D., New York, 25 cents.

Two thousand copies of the issue of August 13 of the Weekly People were taken by Section Detroit, Mich. This issue contained the report of the Michigan State Convention, and was sent to the various cities and towns in that State, where there are S. L. P. connections, for distribution.

Those who desire to keep well informed and receive all the latest news from the political field, should subscribe for The Daily People for three months. The price of a three months subscription is \$1. This will bring you a Socialist paper every day during the campaign, and long enough after the campaign to get the complete election returns.

LABOR NEW NOTES.

This was a good week in pamphlets and books.

Leaving out the store sales and many of the small orders, we can report as follows for this week:

Of the pamphlets we sold: Frank Bohn, Organizer of Ohio, 95, including "Burning Question of Trades Unionism," "What Means This Strike?" and "Reform and Revolution"; Section Onondaga County, New York, 5 "Red Flag"; Section Hartford, Conn., 90 "What Means This Strike!"; 6 "Two Pages from Roman History"; Mrs. Touroff, Brooklyn, 100 "What Means This Strike!"; Comrade Greenwood, Newark, N. J., 12 "Burning Question"; Section Canton, O., 10 "What Means This Strike!"; 10 "Burning Question" and 5 "Reform and Revolution"; Section Peekskill, N. Y., one of each, "Two Pages from Roman History."

Since the latter is not yet the case, the former seems a condition forced upon us.

H. J. Shade.

Pittsburg, Pa., Aug. 2.

To the Daily and Weekly People: The resolution to exclude pickets of pure and simple unions from the S. L. P., in my opinion, too early. As the S. T. and L. A. is not dominant as yet to give refuge to the wage worker, and a pure and simple union, in many instances, controls the situation, it can compel its members to do such duty. Members of the S. L. P. would have to choose between the S. L. P. and the job, which means his existence.

M. Blumenthal.

Brooklyn, Aug. 9.

To the Daily and Weekly People: No serious member of the S. L. P. will disagree with the resolutions regarding officership in the fakir breeding, scab-herding "unions," but will welcome those resolutions as a forerunner of an invitation, too long withheld, to give up membership in guilds, ridden by crooks, and join the S. T. and L. A., carrying the battle on class lines and not craft (graft) lines.

Revolutionists do not say, "My bread and butter," but "My class and their economic freedom, or 'en' the 'I starve'."

Let the S. L. P. men work altogether for the S. T. and L. A. as some S. L. P. men work for the Gompers' union, and the S. T. and L. A. will clean Gompers and his means of existence—the pure and simple from the face of civilization.

J. Ray.

Phila., Pa., Aug. 6.

LETTER-BOX

Off-Hand Answers to Correspondents.

O. R., WASHBURN, WIS.—Matchett left the party because of its adherence to the S. T. & L. A. policy, which he supported, and voted for, in the convention of 1896.

L. F., SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.—The answer to which you refer appears in the Weekly People, and so will reach your Pretorian friend. You last ordered your mail sent to a New York address. What more do you want?

J. M. L., NEW YORK CITY.—You're pretty good at slinging mud, but rather weak in answering J. M. C.'s statements. As the latter are in accord with Healy's record we are inclined to believe them, until convinced to the contrary by something better than that which you offer.

A. J. McG., CLEVELAND, O.—The subject mentioned is considered from one of many standpoints in the editorial, "Reduction of Hours." Why not write your experience on it, as you did in the other matter? Would make interesting reading.

J. K., NEW YORK CITY.—This office is not able to answer your question "whether the candidates nominated on the 'Socialist' ticket in Colorado, are direct members of the Social Democratic party?" Perhaps some of our Colorado members can answer.

The Socialist Labor Party of Colorado has not yet placed a State ticket in the field; but it intends to do so.

A. S. D., BEARDSTOWN, TEXAS; F. C. B., BOSTON, MASS.; S. K., NEW YORK CITY; F. J., INDIANAPOLIS, IND.; A. M., NEW LONDON, CONN.; G. M., SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.; M. C., UNKNOWN, AND UNANIMOUS, DENVER, COL.; SEER, CENTRAL FALLS, R. I.; E. C., NEW YORK CITY.—Matter received.

favorably in party referendums, on account of its Democratic and Single Tax platform and Gompers' capitalist trades union resolutions, answer.

These factions are exposing the bogus Socialist character of the "Socialist," alias Social Democratic party. They are making clear to the members of the working class that the "Socialist," alias Social Democratic party is a fraud, unworthy of their sympathy and support. The members of the working class are acting accordingly. This is the why of the "Socialist," alias Social Democratic wherefore.

To the members, friends and sympathizers of the Socialist Labor Party, the plight of the "Socialist," alias Social Democratic privately-owned press, is an encouraging sign of the times. The cause of the decline of this barrier to the spread of sound Socialist teachings and tactics, should inspire them with greater efforts in behalf of the party-owned press of the Socialist Labor Party.

The "Socialist," alias Social Democratic party press has aided in the propagation of all the popular labor superstitions and labor faking devices. The Socialist Labor Party press has exposed and fought both. Despite this, or rather because of this, the success of the S. L. P. press has been comparatively greater. All of which shows that the working class, wherever reached, is favorably inclined toward the Socialist Labor Party press, and that all that is necessary to receive still greater support for the S. L. P. press from the members of the working class, is to make more of them acquainted with its policy and contents, i. e., make readers and subscribers of them. With that accomplished, increased success will be the result.

Comrades, friends and sympathizers, do your duty! Bring our party-owned press to the attention of the members of the working class. The times are ripe for it.

CHARLES BRIGGS.

Charles Briggs, a member of Section Belleville, died of small pox here Friday, July 29. Comrade Briggs' age was forty-two. He was single. His occupation was that of moulder. He belonged to the Moulders' Union. He was a member of the Party since 1896, off and on, belonging to Section Cleveland at one time and Section Pittsburg later on. He came to Belleville about two months ago, and joined the Section June 18, 1904.

Walter Goss.

Belleville, Ill., August 5.

SOUTH HUDSON'S OPEN AIR MEETINGS.

August 19—Beacon and Central avenues, at 8 p. m. Speakers: G. Herr-shaft, H. Oakes and H. Klawansky.

If you receive a sample copy of this paper it is an invitation to subscribe.

OFFICIAL

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Henry Kuhn, Secretary, 2-6 New Read street, New York.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA—National Secretary, P. O. Box 280, London, Ont.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY, 2-6 New Read street, New York City (The Party's literary agency.)

Notice—For technical reasons no party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesday, 10 p. m.

CALL FOR NATIONAL CAMPAIGN FUND.

To the Members, Friends and Sympathizers of the Socialist Labor Party.

Greeting:—The National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party has been held, its National Ticket has been placed in the field and the National Campaign, with all its possibilities for constructive work in behalf of our cause, is now before us.

To successfully conduct war, the agencies of war are required; and to successfully conduct a campaign, with the political arena of the nation for a battle field, also requires means—and large means at that—in order to reach the many thousands of working class voters that must be made acquainted with what the Socialist Labor Party has to say to them. Speakers must be sent out, literature must be distributed, meetings arranged, halls hired, in short, money must be expended if the message of the S. L. P. is to be carried to the working class of the land.

The field of this campaign looks to be singularly free from confusing issues. Due to a combination of circumstances known to us all, the currency question which in the past led astray so many workingmen with but a partial understanding of their interests, has been practically eliminated from the field and now the capitalist identity of what may fittingly be called the Democratic-Republican party—always obvious to the Socialist—now stands out so glaringly that even the most superficial eye, even the most thoughtless of the working class, are bound to almost fall over it. They are bound, when comparing the two, to ask themselves: "Where is the difference?" to which the answer inevitably must be: "There is no difference!"—unless it be the difference between the Republican habit of bull-penning and thumb-stringing the working class a la Idaho and Colorado, and the Democratic habit of shooting the working class into submission a la Buffalo and Chicago.

The Democratic party, purged of the labor-misleading, middle-class demagoguery of Bryanism, now stands in a position where the "most solid interests of the country" flock to the Parker standard; so deceptive is the duplication that the late Marcus A. Hanna, were he still with us, might be puzzled to know on which side to line up.

There is further opposed to the S. L. P., and to every sense of decency as well, that abortion which parades under and besmirches the name of Socialism—the "Socialist," alias "Social Democratic," party, the logical heir to defunct Bryanism and equally logical aspirant to incipient Hearstism. An outpost of the political forces of capitalism, doing picket duty for the capitalist class in conjunction with its labor fakir allies, a barrier and an obstacle to the revolutionary movement of the American working class, the S. L. P., must fight this abortion and surmount this barrier at all cost. There can be no clear pathway for the forces of the Social Revolution until this ulcer has been removed from the body of the American Labor Movement.

There is work ahead for the S. L. P., work that must be done sooner or later, and now is the time and opportunity to do a goodly portion of it. All of you who are one with us in aim and purpose, whether in the party organization or out of it, fall to now and contribute your share in keeping with your means. Hold up the hands of the Socialist Labor Party—the only hope of America's proletariat—in this hour of golden hour of opportunity and enable it to do that which must be done. Call upon those you know to be with us, arouse those still asleep and let every penny that can be gotten for S. L. P. propaganda find its way into the campaign fund of the S. L. P.

"The emancipation of the workers must be the work of the working class itself," from which follows that the campaigns of the working class must be fought with the pennies of the working class.

Send all contributions (all of which will be acknowledged in this paper) to the National Secretary of the Socialist Labor Party, and address same to

HENRY KUHN,

2-6 New Read street, Box 1576, New York City.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Regular meeting held on August 19 at 2-6 New Read street, with A. Gilman in the chair. Present, J. Hammer and T. Walsh, the latter with excuse. The financial report showed receipts \$115.08; expenditures, \$60.12.

Communications:—From East St. Louis and from St. Louis several letters,

explaining that Bilbarrow and Diekmann, who had been delegate and alternate delegate, respectively, to the national convention, representing the State of Missouri, at a State convention, had endeavored to swing the organization in the State out of the party by alleging that at the recent convention the party had fallen under the domination of the middle class, had taken a wrongful position on the question of trades unions, and interspersing their report with attacks upon the N. E. C. and the national secretary, alleging secrecy, mismanagement, etc., and winding up with the introduction of a resolution the purpose of which was to separate the Missouri organization from the party. Said resolution failing to pass, they, with seven others, offered their resignations and left the hall. The letter of Section St. Louis, reporting these events, asked for full information which the secretary had sent. From M. Meyer, Detroit, upon several local matters and mentioning also that Bilbarrow, while at New York, had proposed to Meyer to bolt the convention, but failed to find support. From W. W. Cox, upon the same matter, stating that he had for some time been apprehensive of trouble from that quarter and that he had been to East St. Louis to report as a delegate to the national convention; that many members of Section St. Louis had come to the meeting and that the distorted version of Bilbarrow and Diekmann had been corrected. From Columbus, O., a report as to the work of the re-organized section, as well as future prospects. From Troy, N. Y., reporting expulsion by Section Rensselaer County of Archibald Salmon for donating money to the Social Democratic party. From Braddock, Pa., relative to the work of Section Allegheny County, the meetings that are being held and the literature and subscriptions for the Weekly People that are disposed of; also that several members are entirely inactive. From Watervliet, N. Y., reporting that campaign lists sent have been lost in a fire and asking that they be replaced. From Providence, R. I., about Italian meeting held with a speaker from Brooklyn and that in consequence a number of Italians will join the Section, the Section to assist in the maintenance of a paper published by the Italian organization. From Wisconsin S. E. C., asking that N. E. C. suggest a speaker to tour the State. Secretary reported that he had previous receipt of the letter written to the Wisconsin S. E. C. and suggesting that Comrade Cox tour the State, and upon receipt of this letter, had again made the offer. From Trenton, N. J., relative to obtaining membership-at-large and promising active work during the campaign in the way of street meetings and work for the party press. From Edinburgh, Scotland, asking for matter to be used for advertising purposes in connection with the meetings Daniel De Leon is to speak at on his return from Amsterdam. From Richmond, Va., reporting state of organization and expressing disapproval with the adoption of amendments to this clause of the constitution dealing with officership in pure and simple unions at the national convention. From Pennsylvania S. E. C., relative to having H. Jager tour the State to assist in the gathering of signatures and for general agitation. From Hartford, Conn., objecting to a campaign list having been sent to a non-member, because of the use to which said list had been put, statement having been made to the effect that the list had been sent because of the inactivity of Section Hartford.

The secretary reported on estimate for poster platform suggested by Yonkers, N. Y. The figure obtained being rather high, the matter was laid over. Election of officers were reported from St. Louis, Mo., and Milwaukee, Wis.

Edward C. Schmidt, Recording Secretary.

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN FUND.

Peter Friesema, Jr., Detroit, Mich. \$30.00
List 643, per J. Breuer, Hartford, Conn. Jos. Lita, \$1; Jos. Eichinger, fifty cents; Aug. Hart, fifty cents; Fred Traut, fifty cents; Herm. Quilitch, fifty cents; Max Neukirch, \$1; Fred Schwartz, \$1; Tim Murphy, fifty cents. 5.50
Total \$85.50
Previously acknowledged \$1.50
Grand total \$87.00

Henry Kuhn, National Secretary.

YONKERS OPEN AIR MEETINGS.

Open air meetings will be held in Getty Square, Yonkers, N. Y., at 8 p. m., on the following dates:

Saturday, August 20.—Chairman, Ed. McCormick. Speakers: Owen Carragher of Yonkers, and E. T. Weger of Brooklyn.

Saturday, August 27.—Chairman, A. J. Orme. Speakers: Joseph H. Sweeney of Yonkers, and Charles Chase of Colorado.

NEW YORK OPEN AIR MEETINGS:

SATURDAY, AUGUST 20th, 8 P. M.
7th Assembly District—N. W. corner of 17th street and 8th avenue. Chairman, P. Cody. Speakers: H. A. Santee, Frank Campbell.

20th Assembly District—N. E. corner of 33rd street and 3rd avenue. Chairman, John Slevin. Speakers: James T. Hunter, J. Friedman, R. Downs.

34th Assembly District—Southwest corner of 123d street and Third avenue. Chairman, T. Swenson. Speakers: Charles Chase and A. Sater.

MONDAY, AUGUST 22, 8 P. M.
First Assembly District—Hudson and Beach streets. Speakers: Pat Quinlan, Pat Walsh and R. Downs.

Fourth Assembly District—Jefferson street and East Broadway. Speakers: August Gilhaus, S. Moskowitz and S. Smilansky.

Eighteenth Assembly District—Sixteenth street and First avenue. Chairman, John Slevin. Speakers: John J. Kinneally and A. Sater.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 23, 8 P. M.
Thirtieth Assembly District—Eighty-ninth street and Second avenue. Chairman, T. Haupt. Speakers: August Gilhaus and F. A. Olpp.

Thirty-second Assembly District—Southwest corner of 106th street and Madison avenue. Chairman, T. Swenson. Speakers: H. A. Santee and J. Bek.

Thirty-fifth Assembly District—161st street and Cauldwell avenue. Speakers: Charles Chase and A. Levine.

Hungarian Socialists—Southwest corner of Sixth street and Avenue B. Speakers: A. Reichman, E. Toth and F. Schmiedt.

Twenty-fifth Assembly District—Twenty-eighth street and Seventh avenue. Speakers: A. Francis and F. Isler.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 24, 8 P. M.
Fourth Assembly District—Henry and Pike streets. Speakers: J. Friedman, S. Moskowitz and I. Schaefer.

Twenty-third Assembly District—134th street and Eighth avenue. Speakers: James T. Hunter and John J. Kinneally.

Thirty-fourth Assembly District—125th street and Second avenue. Speakers: Frank Campbell, A. Sater and T. Haupt.

BOSTON OPEN AIR MEETINGS.

Friday, Aug. 19, Hayes Square, Chas'n. Wednesday, Aug. 24, Maverick Square, East Boston.

Friday, Aug. 26, Merrimac Square, City.

Wednesday, Aug. 31, Castle Square, South Boston.

Wednesday, September 7, Henley and Warren streets, Chas'n.

Friday, September 9, Central Square, East Boston.

HARTFORD, ATTENTION!

Inasmuch as our delegate to the National Convention was prevented by illness from staying to the end of it, a proper report of the proceedings could not be rendered. But as said convention transacted very important business, a full report is very desirable. Comrade M. Ruther, of Holyoke, has volunteered to render a full report, which will be given at S. L. P. Hall Sunday, August 21, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon.

All readers of The People in this city and its surroundings who wish to get acquainted with the inner working of the S. L. P., are cordially invited to attend.

HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST FESTIVAL

The Hungarian Socialist Federation of Passaic County, N. J., is organized for the purpose of spreading the principles of the Socialist Labor Party among the Hungarian workingmen and workingwomen of this country. It is hoped that in the near future this organization will prove a great help to the national organization of the Socialist Labor Party.

To carry on an effective agitation funds are needed. To this end, it was decided to arrange a summer festival to be held at the Lady Saddle River Park, on Sunday, August 28, beginning at 10 a. m. In order to make this affair a success, we call on our comrades and sympathizers in Passaic to help us by attending. We can assure a good time to all who come. Take the Lady-Hackensack trolley at Passaic avenue to the grounds.

The Arrangement Committee.

Endorsed by Section Passaic, S. L. P.

J. C. Butterworth, Organizer.

S. T. & A. AGITATION.

Open-air meetings under the auspices of the Local Alliances of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance will be held at the following places:

Friday, August 19, 8 p. m.

Bronx, New York city—190th street and St. Ann's avenue. Speakers: John Seherer and H. Klavansky.

Saturday, August 20, 8 p. m.

Elizabeth, N. J.—First and Livingston streets. Speakers: John J. Kinneally and F. C. Burgholz.

Rahway, N. J.—Main and Cherry streets. Speakers: Sam J. French and J. Magnette.

STATE TICKETS

CONNECTICUT
For Governor:
TIMOTHY SULLIVAN,
of New Haven.

ILLINOIS
For Governor:
PHILIP VEAL,
of Collinsville.

INDIANA
For Governor:
E. J. DILLON,
of Marion.

KENTUCKY
Presidential Electors-at-large:
THOMAS SCOPES,
Of Paducah.
LORENZ KLEINHENZ,
Of Louisville.

MICHIGAN
For Governor:
MEIKO MEYER,
Of Detroit.

NEW JERSEY
For Governor:
GEORGE HERRSCHAF, of Jersey City.

NEW YORK
For Governor:
DANIEL DE LEON,
of New York.

OHIO
For Secretary of State:
JOHN H. T. JUERGENSE,
of Canton.

WASHINGTON
For Governor:
WILLIAM MCCORMICK,
Of Seattle.

WISCONSIN
For Governor:
CHARLES M. MINKLEY,
Of Milwaukee.

CALIFORNIA.

(Copy these names in the blank column on the ballot, November 8.)

For Presidential Electors:

F. N. TUTTLE,

San Diego, San Diego County.

H. NORMAN,

Los Angeles, Los Angeles County.

SIDNEY ARMER,

Berkeley, Alameda County.

J. B. FERGUSON,

Tuolumne, Tuolumne County.

L. C. HALER,

Los Angeles, Los Angeles County.

LARS JOHNSON,

Falk, Humboldt County.

J. A. ANTHONY,

San Diego, San Diego County.

H. J. SHADE,

Santa Monica, Los Angeles County.

E. B. MERCADIER,

San Jose, Santa Clara County.

GEORGE ANDERSON,

Los Angeles, Los Angeles County.

MASSACHUSETTS STATE CONFERENCE.

Call for the State Conference of the Massachusetts S. L. P., 1904.

To the sections of the S. L. P. of Mass. Comrades:

The State conference of the party will be held in Boston, on Labor Day, (2) September 5, next. The conference will be called to order at 10 a. m. sharp. Delegates will be notified of the location and name of hall where the conference will be held later. The legal convention will be held the next day, September 6.

The General Committee desires that each section be represented at this conference. The sections in Western Massachusetts will take notice, and see to it that they elect delegates to this conference, and not do as in former years, leave the work to this end of the State.

The conference of 1904 will nominate the State ticket, presidential electors, etc., without the intervention of the referendum of previous years. For this, if for no other reason, every section should be represented.

The basis of representation is set forth in the State constitution, Article 4, Section 1, and sections will elect accordingly, and report the names of their delegates to the secretary of the General Committee as soon as elected.

There is much to be done at this conference, and it is to be hoped that each section in Massachusetts will send delegates.

For General Committee, Massachusetts S. L. P.

Michael T. Berry, Secretary,

99 1/2 Chestnut Street,

Lynn, Mass.

Lynn, August 3, 1904.

BROOKLYN OPEN AIR MEETINGS.

Friday, August 19, 8 P. M.

Seventh Assembly District—Third avenue and Forty-ninth street. Speakers: E. Archer and E. F. Wegener.

If you receive a sample copy of this paper it is an invitation to subscribe.

ILLINOIS DELEGATES

Continued from page 1.

upon these I feel in duty bound to make my position clear, as no doubt my fellow delegate will make his.

First, as to whether the middle class should be excluded from party membership, either wholly, or be allowed only in a certain minor proportion. An amendment proposed to the Constitution would make it necessary for three-quarters of the members of each Section to be wage workers. Comrade Cox favored this and even the extreme measure that non-wage workers shall be excluded altogether. At first I certainly favored the three-quarter measure, for it seemed wise that we should not allow ourselves to be overrun with middle class men. But, upon finding that the convention got itself into a fearful tangle in the discussion I realized what an endless tangle it would inveigle the party at large into, and opposed it for the following reasons:

First, the party's platform, tactics and Constitution sufficiently repel non-wage workers and make the majority of them hate us rather than love us; and therefore, there is no danger whatsoever that they will come into any Section to outnumber, or be even a third or quarter the number of wage workers, except perhaps, as an extreme exception in some isolated locality where no wage workers exist, as for example, the lone farmer section at Hennings, Minn. Such a section, no matter how wicked it might become could, from its isolation, never do the least harm, and, if venturing to, would soon be eliminated by the working class dominating the S. E. C. Therefore, when no necessity exists for legislation such legislation is superfluous and even foolish.

Second, it would involve the party into endless statistical difficulties to keep track of the class of its members, admission and death rate of each class and the fluctuations from wage workers into petite bourgeois, and vice versa. Third, the amendment would defeat its own purpose as under it, three low-lived skinning business men might belong to a section if nine wage workers were there to offset them, but if a fourth one, a real valuable man should then apply for membership he could not be admitted until one of the good-for-nothings died or otherwise got out of harm's way, or three wage workers could be induced to join to offset him.

Fourth, under our constitution a section can expel a member, an S. E. C. a Section, and the N. E. C. a whole State; if that is not enough to guarantee party purity, I have no hope that a three-quarter wage worker clause in our Constitution would ever effect it.

Fifth, as to excluding non-wage workers altogether, I hold that human history takes from the Socialist movement all right to do so. While it is undeniable that this is the struggle of the modern proletariat for its emancipation, and, therefore, the class feature is and should be the dominant one; yet, in the history of civilization this is also the movement for the triumph of the highest science, the highest learning, the highest art, and we must not be blind to the fact that these have but small chance to develop from the ranks of the workers. We must, moreover, not forget that our own honored scientists and philosophers, those to whom we owe more than words can ever express, Marx and Engels, belonged not to, and could never have developed out of, our downtrodden class. Again our own noble champion, Daniel De Leon, has come to us from the class we are so apt to slur at. What these have done others may do, and be able to repeat the grand words uttered by De Leon on the floor of the convention, in answer to Connelly's reference to his birth: "I thank my stars that I was not born of the working class, for my birth and education have given me opportunities to do for this movement what I never would have had power to do without them."

So I add, that of the help of such men we have no right to deprive the Socialist movement in our bitter feeling against some petty rascal who may have betrayed us. To sharpen our wits and increase our watchfulness, alone is our duty!

The second point on which your delegation differed was as to the resolution introduced by Delegate Richards of Indiana, on the Materialist Conception of History.

I, being a member of the Committee on Resolutions, was partly responsible for the recommendation not to adopt it, first, because I hold that, contrary to what the resolution implied, the party has always carried out the Materialist Conception of History; second, because the Materialist Conception of History does not, as that resolution would imply, consist in an attack on religion, but, on the other hand, is in itself the only scientific recognition of religions, their outgrowth at the various economic stages, and the part they have played, for the better or for the worse, in each and every status of human history. So only can we deal with the question

of religion, and so I claim, and such was the sentiment of the convention, has the party dealt with it all along the line.

This, I think, touches the important points of the work of the convention.

I may add a few words on things in general.

I found in New York a fine set of comrades, enthusiastic and ready for work, and with the burden of the Daily People once lifted from their shoulders, we would soon see a remarkable revival in that quarter. In the educational clubs, I found a number of fine young men and women, enthusiastic for the party and well grounded in its work.

The Daily People picnic was a social and financial success. The Cooper Union meeting drew a large and very enthusiastic crowd, in spite of the very bad weather, a crowd that demonstrated what persistent agitational work can do, a lesson that we all ought to take home with us.

The Arbetaren excursion was a grand social success and was not a financial failure in spite of the fact that it came off barely a week after the fearful disaster to the General Blocum.

While East, I delivered three lectures one in New York, one in Brooklyn and one in Newark; all were well attended and I have reason to believe were successful from every point of view.

I visited Comrade De Leon's home at Milford, Connecticut, and certainly found no sign there of all the benefits which he, according to the Kangaroos, had drawn from the party. But with him I am thoroughly pleased, both as a man and comrade, as I always have been with him as the party's editor.

For the future success of the S. L. P., I am
Yours fraternally,
Olive M. Johnson,
157 Garfield Boulevard,
Chicago, Ill.

Collinsville, Ill., August 7.—I have carefully read the above and fully endorse it as a truthful report of the work of the Illinois delegates to the Eleventh National Convention.

W. W. Cox.

CHICAGO OPEN-AIR MEETINGS.

Saturday, August 20.

Milwaukee and Paulina. Speakers: Sale and Koch.

Ninety-second and Commercial. Speakers: Lingenfelter and Nielsen.

Monday, August 22.

Madison and Jefferson. Speakers: Lingenfelter and Nielsen.

Tuesday, August 23.

Madison and Green. Speakers: Sale and Koch.

Halstead and Congress. Speakers: Lingenfelter and Nielsen.

Thursday, August 25.

Forty-seventh and State. Speakers: Lingenfelter and Nielsen.

Twelfth and Ashland. Speakers: Sale and Koch.

Saturday, August 27.

Ninety-second and Commercial. Speakers: Sale and Koch.

Milwaukee and Armitage. Speakers: Lingenfelter and Nielsen.

How to reach the park: From Broadway ferry take trolley car to Jamaica. From Brooklyn Bridge take Grenc & Gates avenue car and transfer at Broadway to Jamaica car and get off at Hoffman Boulevard. Two minutes walk from Hoffman Boulevard north from car.

Prize Games for all including prize bowling for Ladies and Gentlemen, Sack Race, Running Matches, Three Legged Race, Base Ball, Vogel Stechen, etc.

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